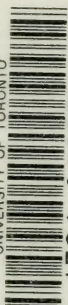


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Shakespeare's Handwriting
and Other Papers

BY

RALPH WINNINGTON LEFTWICH, M.D.

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Shakespeare's Handwriting

AND OTHER PAPERS.

By

RALPH WINNINGTON LEFTWICH, M.D.,

Vice-President British Empire Shakespeare Society,

Vice-President Shakespeare League,

Vice-President Shakespeare Reading Society,

Etc., Etc.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following papers are the work of the late Dr. Ralph Winnington Leftwich and are based on lectures given by him at various times in recent years to a number of societies interested in Shakespeare. To him the papers were a side interest in a busy life; but to students of Shakespeareana their importance carries them beyond the many papers which deal with the subject merely from the historical or critical point of view. The knowledge of medicine and especially of diagnosis, the author's profession developed, is here brought to bear upon two aspects of Shakespeare's life which had not hitherto been treated by anyone with similar qualifications.

The long-vexed question as to the reason for Shakespeare's complete withdrawal from authorship for the last years of his life is solved, not as a matter of conjecture, but as a scientific fact. The life of John Hall and his position in contemporary medicine can also be more fully dealt with by a doctor than a layman.

Dr. Leftwich's long residence in South London led him to take an interest in the foundation of the See of Southwark and the establishment of St. Saviour's Church as the cathedral of the new see, and so directed his attention to the great historical interest of the church and particularly to its connection with Shakespeare. Though the fact of Shakespeare's residence in Southwark had long been known, few people realised that in this building we had not only one of the finest mediæval churches in London, but also the parish church in which unquestionably Shakespeare worshipped.

There already existed in the church a window erected to Shakespeare and Spenser, but it seemed to the author of these papers that the poet's connection with it might well be more vividly commemorated, and, with the sanction of the Bishop, a commemorative service was held in 1909 and was

to be repeated every three years. Dr. Leftwich's efforts, however, were more notably devoted to the erection of the monument to Shakespeare which is now placed in the south aisle under the memorial window, and in recognition of this, his arms are incorporated in the design of the monument.

The paper dealing with the Shakespeare-Bacon theory was written in the circumstances described in the note prefixed to it; the facts need not be repeated here.

It was Dr. Leftwich's intention to have amplified these papers before publishing them. Unfortunately, after a very short illness, he died in March, 1919, before being able to do so. It was less than a week before his death that he read the paper on Shakespeare's Handwriting to the Historical Section of the Royal Society of Medicine. The papers are therefore published without the advantage of revision by their author.



SHAKESPEARE AUTOGRAPHS.

1612
The Mountjoy
action.

Wm. Shakspeare

(a)
1613
Blackfriars
Purchase
Deed.

William
Shakspeare

(b)
1613
Do. Mortgage
Deed.

Wm Shakspeare

(a)
1616
Will,
First page
magnified.

William Shakspeare
- Ben Jonson

(b)
1616
Will,
Second page

of one after Aug 16 to George
Wm Shakspeare

(c)
1616
Will,
Third page

By me William Shakspeare

(a)
The name
in
Law Clerk's
writing.

for George

(b)

for George Shakspeare

SHAKESPEARE'S HANDWRITING.

GIVEN AS A LECTURE TO

Royal Society of Medicine (Historical Section),

March 19th, 1919.

The 59th Annual Shakespearean Festival
of the Urban Club,

May 7th, 1918.

THE EVIDENCE OF SHAKESPEARE'S HANDWRITING.

[T has long been a source of regret to the Shakespearean that we have so few records of him in his own handwriting and those confined to a few signatures. Little though it is, however, those few words written in his own hand are enough to give us very definite information on a point which has often puzzled his biographers.

We have in all six undisputed signatures of Shakespeare; that on the Mountjoy deed discovered by Professor Wallace and preserved at the Record Office, dates from 1612; one on the Blackfriars purchase deed at the Guildhall; another on a mortgage deed on the same property at the British Museum, both dating from 1613; and three on the will at Somerset House written in 1616. These are all specimens of his writing in his later years. Besides these, his name occurs in two books; an Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1502 edition) and a copy of Florio's *Montaigne* (1603). These, if genuine, might have been written earlier, and if so, this would explain why they differ in some respects from the signatures; personally, however, I do not believe them to be genuine, though it is not for me to decide where two Keepers of the Manuscripts in the British Museum differ. In any case, as there is a doubt about them I shall leave them out of consideration.

In considering the handwriting of some centuries ago, we must remember that any differences between this and a modern writing may be due to three causes; first, a difference due to the style of writing in use at that time including abbreviations in common use; secondly, differences due to individual taste or fancy; thirdly, differences

due to a temporary cause such as illness, excitement, or an inconvenient position.

As to the first it is well known that in Shakespeare's time two styles of writing prevailed, the Gothic and the Italian. He had been taught the Gothic, which bears a close resemblance to the German cursive script, and though it was gradually being ousted by the Italian—Olivia's "sweet Roman hand"—he never adopted this new style. Indeed, it was not until the end of the seventeenth century that the Gothic script finally disappeared in this country. There is also the curious abbreviation of the second syllable of the surname as shown in the signatures of 1612 and 1613. To us it seems remarkable that in an important legal document such a thing should be used, but it was quite common at that time with persons whose name ended in "per" and the like, such as Roper, Draper, Couper, and even Shepherd: and in the Stratford records the name of Shakespeare was often written so by the law-clerks. The name stops short at the P, which sometimes has a mark or a stroke through it to indicate that it has been abbreviated. Some years ago I devised an International Alphabet and found that in Phonetics the vowel preceding an R in an unaccented syllable is known as the "indexterminate" vowel, because the sound is much the same whatever the vowel happens to be; for this reason I think that the final syllable of Shakespeare's name was unaccented and that he and his contemporaries pronounced the name as Shaxper, as it was often written.

Now it is obvious that differences might well be ascribed to the second class of individual peculiarities, which to a trained observer would show themselves to belong to the third class, *i.e.*, to be due to disease instead of to accident or fancy, but although these signatures have been closely examined by palaeographers and others, they have never been systematically analysed by one with a medical training, and nothing but speculative suggestions have been made with regard to their association with

disease. In my capacity as a student of Shakespeare and the author of a work upon Diagnosis which has gone into seven editions, I may claim some qualifications for dealing with the subject.

As evidence that the peculiarities have been observed by non-medical critics who approached the question with impartial minds, I would draw attention to some remarks made by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, of the British Museum, and by Dr. Martin, who is, however, a doctor of law and not of medicine. The first is that a curve is made by linking up a number of straight lines; this was noticed by both, the latter counting eight such strokes in the capital S of the full will signature. A second peculiarity noticed by Sir Edward is that a curve normally made without lifting the pen from the paper is written in "two sectional strokes with a gap between them." This is seen in the initial S of the second will signature, and probably in that on the first page of the will. A third peculiarity noticed by Sir Edward is that the upper part of the small "a" is left open, and yet a further observation of his is that in the full will signature there is a "breakdown" in the final syllable of the surname.

In the absence of a knowledge of medicine on the part of these observers no particular significance was attached to these points, but when I come to show you, as I shall do, that they are recognized signs of a certain diseased condition, their unbiassed evidence becomes of greater value as a confirmation of my statements.

It would lighten my task very much if we possessed a specimen of his early writing before the disease set in. This has been denied us, but in some compensation we have two direct testimonies to its excellence. In the introduction to the First Folio, Hemyng and Condell say: "His mind and hand went together, and what he thought he uttered with that easinesse that we have scarce received from him a blot (erasure) upon his papers." Five years earlier Ben Jonson quoted the actors to the same effect, "whatsoever he penned

he never blotted a line." But we are not dependent upon the testimony of others, for we have under own eyes the proof that he was able to write at least a word or two well ; look at the "William" of the full will signature, save for a little humping of the "ll" it cannot be denied that this is exceedingly well written. I have no doubt that it represents the standard of writing referred to by the editors. Indeed, his great output of work shows that he was a rapid writer, and the combination of speed with legibility accentuates his skill in penmanship.

In the six signatures extant however, there is no indication of either skill or speed in the penmanship, and if the MSS. of the plays had been no better, any allusion to the writing of their author would have been rather deprecatory than complimentary. Every signature appears so laboured, and consequently so slowly written, that it is impossible to believe that their writer could have penned with his own hand the great volume of work of which he was the author if his earlier writing had been no better. But it must have been better, on the evidence given, and though many men write their signatures very badly, this quavering blotted scrawl that does duty for a signature in several of these cases goes far beyond mere carelessness.

The change was not due to old age, and the fact that it covers a period of some years, leads to the belief that it was caused by some morbid influence ; but in determining what this was we are confronted by two difficulties. First, that Shakespeare wrote in an unfamiliar script, and secondly that we have to base our conclusions upon very scanty material ; three capital letters and eleven small ones, and this includes the words "By me" prefixed to the full will signature. Some have doubted whether these words were written by the poet himself, but to my mind, it is evident that the first stroke of the "m" and that of the "W" were penned by the same hand, and the brownish tint of the ink is common to both. In compensation for the scantiness of the material,

there is the fortunate fact that the writing extended over a period of four years, and therefore represents different stages of the malady; consequently it furnishes many more symptoms than would have been the case if it had all been written at the same time.

The signature on the first page of the will is so damaged as to be nearly useless, and not much importance can be attached to the tracing of it made by George Steevens in 1778; as far as it goes, however, it confirms the conclusion to which I come later. I believe, with the palaeographers, Sir F. Madden and Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, that the full signature on the last page was written first, as is the case with testators at the present day, and that on the first page last, this and the second signature being necessary to make corrections valid.

It has been surmised that the defects of Shakespeare's handwriting were due to some constitutional disease such as locomotor ataxy or chronic paralysis, but the preamble to his will, written only a few months before his death, negatives such views. It begins: "In the Name of God, Amen! I, William Shakespeare, of Stratford on Avon, Gentleman, in perfect health and memorie, God be praised," a statement which is not likely to have been a deliberate untruth, and was not a mere formality, for it is not always found. For instance, the will of Samuel Purchas, of "Purchas his Pilgrimes," dated May 31st, 1625, has "often admonished of the present to provide for a better life and nowe in tollerable health, praised be God." Moreover, there is no tradition that he suffered from any serious illness of a chronic nature, but the only account of his death, little more than two months later, attributes it to a fever, *i.e.*, a disease of short duration. Nor are we dependent upon these statements, for we can exclude as causes of bad writing, illiteracy, alcoholism, disablement of the hand through rheumatism or accident, and those numerous diseases in which the tremor is rhythmical by the fact that the writing is not uniformly

bad or tremulous, as shown by the "William" already alluded to. We can also exclude all diseases, with one exception, in which the tremor is not passive but in jerks, because in these there would be no breakdown of the final syllable as seen in the will signatures. Other factors which may be excluded are old age, long duration of illness, and mental incapacity.

As regards the last, there is no sign of it during that space of time that remained to him after he had ceased to write plays. Our knowledge of him at that period is limited, but we know that in 1612 he was a competent witness; that in 1613 he received from the Earl of Rutland a substantial fee for designing, not drawing, a tournament badge or "Impress," and also bought or mortgaged house property; that in 1614 the Town Council of Stratford directed their clerk to secure his support in the matter of the Welcombe enclosures; that in 1615 he not only associated himself with others in an action to protect their rights in the Blackfriars freehold, but also was specially consulted in London by the solicitor of the Stratford Corporation; finally we know that in 1616 he was of testamentary capacity. Moreover, there is no evidence of mental decay in his later writings. His last play, "The Tempest," was produced in 1611, about six months before the date of the earliest of the signatures, and far from any falling-off, it is perhaps unsurpassed in the realm of pure imagination.

Now, is there any morbid condition in which the handwriting shows all the abnormalities shown in the Shakespeare autographs which is yet not barred by any collateral consideration? There is one and only one. It is that known as scrivener's palsy or writer's cramp. I have seen a number of cases, though with the introduction of the typewriter it has become rarer. We have many excellent descriptions of the handwriting of its victims by eminent English, American, French, and German authorities such as Sir Charles Bell, Sir William Gowers, and Drs. Robins,

Head, Poore, Oppenheim, Jelliffe, Campbell Thompson, Bristowe, Meigs, Wilfred Harris, Aldron Turner, and others. From these we can draw up a clear picture of the changes that take place and seek for their presence in the signatures.

Shakespeare suffered essentially from the spasmodic or "spastic" form of writer's cramp. In this, the pen is not completely under the control of the writer; against his will it makes little jerks, unduly long strokes, or unintentional marks, and though a good beginning may be made perhaps, the hand becomes tremulous and soon refuses to write at all. Sir William Gowers says that the general effect is that of a letter written in a jolting carriage, and this is precisely what Shakespeare's handwriting suggests.

I have collected from the writers named above some eighteen signs of the disease, and I will now go through them in detail and point out where they can be identified in the signatures. No single sufferer shows anything like all these signs at a time, but favoured with the long period over which our specimens of the poet's handwriting extend, I have included the signs of all stages and therefore given every one, hoping to make the proof exhaustive in this way.

It is no refutation of my statements to point to the presence of one or two of these signs in other diseases or even in ordinary writing, for a diagnosis is made, not from an isolated symptom or two, but from the ensemble or totality of the signs; we rarely succeed in getting all of them, and if I can demonstrate the presence of three-fourths of them and the absence of any condition which would be a direct barrier to the conclusion, the diagnosis may safely be accepted.

To begin with signs derived from predisposing causes. First, the age of the patient: Jelliffe has scheduled 194 cases, and of these, 45, or about one-fourth, were between 40 and 50 when the complaint set in (Shakespeare was 47 in 1611 when he wrote his last play and just 53 when he died).

(2). It is commonest in those who have written much. Shakespeare's plays in the First Folio contain one thousand

double column pages, and there were in addition the poems, the sonnets, probably some unpublished works, and possibly the actors' parts.

(3). It is commonest in those who have written habitually in a cramped hand. In writing Gothic characters the hand is necessarily cramped.

(4). The condition is generally incurable and may persist for many years. In Shakespeare's case it is still prevalent at the end of four years.

Even in the living subject there are few signs of the disease except the peculiarities of the handwriting. The following signs are derived from the writing and should be equally clear to both medical and lay observers on comparison with the reproductions of the signatures given. The names in brackets are those of the doctors who have stated that the sign in question is a symptom of writer's cramp.

(5). The writing is sprawled across the paper.—(Head).

This feature is very marked in the signature of 1612 and in the will signatures of the first and second pages.

(6). The letters are coarsened.—(Robins).

This is the case in the 1612 signature, and in the will signature on the first page and in the initial letters of the Blackfriars purchase deed.

(7). The downstrokes are thickened.—(Gowers, Oppenheim, and Thompson).

The characteristics would be less evident in writing with a quill; but it can be seen in the "W" and the two "l's" of the 1612 autograph.

(8). The upper part of an "a" or "o" may be open.—(Robins, Head, and Thompson).

We have no "o," but an uncompleted "a" is seen after the "h" in the full will signature. It may be objected that in some Gothic writing an open "a" made like an "a" and "i" linked as in German *kursiv-schrift* was used, but the

"a" here is not of that type. It is the same as that in "William." This open "a" was also noticed by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson.

(9). A curve may be made in two strokes instead of one.—(Poore).

Curves are the bane of the sufferers from this disease, and the sign is clearly visible in the capital "S" of the second will signature, where, even allowing for faintness of outline, it is evident that the writer began the second horizontal stroke after finishing the first.

(10). A curve may be made by a succession of short strokes.—(Robins, Poore, Gowers, and others).

This sign, like the last, is of cardinal importance, because it was detected by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson and Dr. Martin entirely apart from any medical significance it might have. Dr. Martin counted eight little stroke in the capital "S" of the will signature; and the American neurologist, Dr. Robins, states that in patients with writer's cramp, he has counted thirteen of these little strokes in a capital "N" and fourteen in a capital "T." This coincidence with my study of the medical side, struck me as very remarkable; on the one hand, Dr. Robins, in describing it, had no thought of Shakespeare in his mind; on the other, Maunde Thompson and Martin had no thought of writer's cramp. The peculiarity can also be seen in the "S" of the second will signature and more or less throughout.

(11). The letters at the end of a word tend to become slurred till they are illegible.—(Head).

Gowers and others describe this phenomenon as the "sign of the tired hand;" it is due to local exhaustion following the over stimulation of effort. The feature is well shown in the last syllable of the surname in the will signatures. The infirmity might have furnished an extra inducement to abbreviate the second signature in the other signatures.

(12). The spasm may drive the nib through the paper.—(Gowers, Wilfred Harris, Meige, Jelliffe, and Aldron Turner).

A quill would not be able to penetrate parchment, and the result of the spasmodic effort would be a splutter or a blotted letter. This is plainly visible in the last letter but one of the 1612 signature, in the "W" of the purchase deed, and in the bottom loop of the "h" in the full will signature.

(13). A stroke may be too high or too low.—(Gowers).

It is too low in the first "i" of the will both in our facsimiles and in the tracing by George Steevens. It is too high in what looks like a gigantic "o" in the 1612 autograph; this is really, however, the second loop of a Gothic "H."

(14). An unintentional mark may be made.—(Gowers and Wilfred Harris).

There is one below the "S" in the 1612 signature, and it is not a blot, because it is only semi-circular.

(15). The effects are not uniform, for the same letter may be sometimes well and sometimes badly or not equally well written.—(Gowers and Oppenheim).

This characteristic is seen in the two "l's" of 1612 and those of the first page of the will. Note, too, that the tremor is not all-pervasive.

(16). A letter is often unlinked to the next.—(Meige, Campbell, Thompson, and Oppenheim).

This is not of much importance, and probably most people do it at times; separated letters can be seen, however, in the Blackfriars mortgage deed and in the will signatures of the second and third pages. That this script was consistent with joined letters is shown by the law clerk's writing of the name.

(17). Tremor. This sign is mentioned by every authority. It is more or less evident throughout, and chiefly in the spastic form as in the will signatures.

(18). Omitted letters. I give this on my own responsi-

bility, for it is not mentioned by the above-named authorities, but considering the labour of writing in these cases it is only what one would expect. The small "s" is absent in the 1612 (Mountjoy) signature, as can be seen by comparing it with the "s," a long wavy down-stroke, in the Blackfriars deeds. The "s" in the will signature has become mixed with the "k" also.

To sum up :

The 1612 signature in the Mountjoy action shows seven of the symptoms,

The 1613 (a) signature in the Blackfriars Purchase Deed shows two,

The 1613 (b) signature in the Mortgage Deed shows one,

The signature on the first page of the will shows five,

That on the second page of the will shows five,

The full will signature with the words "By me" before it, shows five.

In addition, the tremor is visible in varying degrees in all the signatures, and the general conditions, the writer's age, style of writing, quantity of written matter, and the probable duration of the disease, all agree with the symptoms in cases that have come under medical observation.

I submit, therefore, that a diagnosis of writer's cramp is unimpeachable, for every one of the eighteen symptoms is present and some are shown more than once. I have carefully considered the claims of other diseases and in no case have I found more than a few of the signs; while, as mentioned before, practically all can be excluded on other grounds.

Finally, in case it should be suggested that other Elizabethan writers may show the same peculiarities, I have examined the writing of Ben Jonson, Peele, Marston, Donne, Bacon, Massinger, Daniell, and Stowe, as well as that of Francis Collyns, who drew up the will; and am satisfied that, though one or two of the signs may be present in some

of their writing, not one of them suffered from writer's cramp.

Incidentally the result of this investigation confirms the authenticity of the signatures discovered by Professor Wallace, which has been doubted in some quarters, for they display a large number of the signs. It also goes far to refute the suggestions made at various times that the signatures were not written by Shakespeare himself (some have even gone so far as to say that he could not write), but were written by the clerk, quoting certain details in his writing, such as the little dot inserted in the final curve of the "W," a well-known scrivener's ornament, in confirmation of this statement. It is evident that even in 1612 the disease must have been of some standing from the signs shown in the earliest of the signatures in our possession. By 1616 an improvement had set in so far as one or two words are concerned, probably due to his having had less writing to do, though the disease is still unmistakably present.

It is a great satisfaction to me, as I hope it will be to others, that this study has set at rest the misgivings which one could not help feeling at times. To casual observers the writing has often suggested illiteracy, and it has not been easy to refute them. Biographers have been compelled to fall back upon a theory that the will signatures were written in the last stage of exhaustion, but this does not explain the fact that the earlier signatures show much the same irregularities. Besides, most of the letters of the will signatures show an excessive nervous action inconsistent with bodily exhaustion, and the sign of the "tired hand" is only local, while the theory of extreme exhaustion does not agree with the statement in the beginning of the will as to "perfect health" and the fact that he survived the signing of the will for a month.

This, then, is the explanation of the mystery. This is why a man in the prime of life, who had written two plays a

year at least for a long period, gave up authorship. In our days the victim of this disorder sometimes succeeds in teaching himself to write with his left hand, but the rule is that this falls rapidly into the same state, and the difficulty of left hand writing in Gothic script would be very great. It may be said that he might have dictated his plays, but a play, with its changes of scene and characters, presents the maximum of difficulty in dictation. Moreover, it is not given to everyone to dictate even a letter with facility. Goldsmith, you remember, after engaging an amanuensis for his "Animated Nature," found himself mute when he tried to begin dictating the work. The shorthand of the time, too, was unsatisfactory. John Heywood, in 1605, complains of the piracy of his plays, when the copyists added insult to injury by mutilating the work they pirated, and says: "Some by stenography draw the plot, put it in print, scarce one word true." Milton, it is true, dictated his work, but he had the advantage of a secretarial training, and an epic is far easier to dictate. It is possible that Shakespeare tried dictation and found it impracticable; this may explain why the masque in "The Tempest" was added later, probably by Chapman.

No doubt Shakespeare's ample means, together with a natural desire to occupy permanently his fine house at Stratford, in which his family had been installed since 1609, influenced him in his decision to retire, but this does not explain his absolute cessation from authorship. No, the immediate cause of his residence at Stratford was his inability to write, for it must have been in 1611 that the disease set in.

It is a tragedy to find a man of his unequalled powers condemned to inaction in the prime of life. For us, however, the regret that he did not give us more must be subdued to thankfulness for what he did give us.

NOTE. — I have read with interest the monograph of Sir Edward Maunde Thompson published in 1916, which deals with the possibility that

three pages added to the play of Sir Thomas Moore (Elizabethan, but undated except on internal evidence), among the manuscripts in the British Museum are the work of Shakespeare and in his own hand. He deals very fully with the question, analysing the handwriting minutely, and reaches the conclusion 'they are a genuine Shakespeare manuscript. I have carefully gone through the MSS. pages, as reproduced in his paper, in an endeavour to find any of the symptoms quoted above, but cannot find any definitely indicated, though I lack the experience, either of medicine or palaeography, to enable me to speak with authority on the subject. This is, if anything, an additional proof, since his writing in the years before the disease attacked him would certainly be free from the irregularities due to it, and as the date of the MS. is estimated to be about 1593, at latest 1600, this would certainly have been written before any symptoms of a disease which had secured a hold upon him in 1611 could be expected to show themselves. As to the genuineness of the MS., I can only accept Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's conclusions, which seem to be irrefutable.—P.L.

NOTES

ON THE

BACON - SHAKESPEARE CONTROVERSY.

NOTES

ON THE

SHAKESPEARE - BACON CONTROVERSY.

THE following notes were compiled early in 1912, when the Shakespeare - Bacon controversy was arousing considerable attention and the Baconians were publishing a number of works supporting their theory, in which they were strongly supported by the late Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, who brought a great deal of energy and considerable financial resources to their aid. He published in 1910 a book entitled "Bacon is Shakespeare," in which he endeavoured to establish his case, not by the cipher arguments but by a more general treatment of the subject. Copies of this book were sent by him to every public library, and copies of a pamphlet on similar lines, called "The Shakespeare Myth," were sent also to a large number of school teachers and other persons in a position to influence public opinion. He stated in 1912 that no less than 300,000 copies of this were in circulation. I felt almost a personal interest in defending the memory of William Shakespeare, to whom we all owe so much, from the criticisms and even insults of some of the followers of Bacon, and I was also closely associated with the proposal to erect in the Cathedral of St. Saviour, Southwark (formerly St. Mary Overy), a memorial to the man of genius who once worshipped there. The proposed memorial was in several cases opposed by correspondents who evidently derived most of their knowledge of the subject from Sir Edwin's writings, and it was in answer to these that these notes were first published as a pamphlet called "Bacon is *not* Shakespeare." They deal, therefore, more with the refutation of Sir Edwin's statements than with the subject as a whole. None the less it seems

worth while to re-publish them, as they collect a number of facts of interest in the life of Shakespeare, and may throw new light upon some minor parts, apart from their bearing on a controversy which a far greater struggle has driven from our minds.

Most of the facts quoted below are taken from Sir Sidney Lee's "Life of Shakespeare" or from the works of Mrs. Stopes. I have used the name of Bacon throughout, and not his title, as a matter of convenience.

— — —

Sir Edwin's principal arguments are as follows :—

(1). That the learning, knowledge of foreign countries, of court life and of the law, displayed in the works of Shakespeare, are far beyond the compass of a tradesman's son, born and bred in a country town, and reveal the writer unmistakably as one of the most eminent men of his time in law and learning, and that the only man of his time with these qualifications was Francis Bacon.

(2). That Shakespeare not only lacked this knowledge, but was quite illiterate, "the mean, ignorant, drunken, and absolutely unlettered rustic of Stratford, who never in his own life wrote so much as his own name and in all probability was totally unable to read one single line of print" (Bacon is Shakespeare, p. 82).

(3). That the Folio version of the plays often differs from that of the Quartos and that none of the M.S.S. of the plays survive (having been destroyed by Bacon as a precaution), and that our specimens of Shakespeare's handwriting are confined to a few signatures, whose authenticity Sir Edwin refuses to accept,

(4). That Bacon recognised the worth of the plays and naturally wished to see them performed and duly appreciated, but did not wish to be known as the author, as this might injure his career as a lawyer or a courtier. That he therefore looked about for someone to assume the position of author,

and fixed upon a second-rate actor and hanger-on of the theatres, paying him handsomely for the use of his name.

(5). That the "secret" of the authorship was fairly widely known among the literary men of the day, and several allusions to it are quoted from their works. Bacon also, in order that the credit should come to him, arranged for the insertion in various contemporary publications of phrases, illustrations, or emblems, indicating the truth to a careful observer; for instance, the printing of a headline or ornament upside down (a very easy thing for a careless or inexperienced printer to do), "is continually resorted to when some revelation concerning Bacon's works is given" (p. 114). Even the portraits and the monument in Stratford Church are said to conceal similar revelations.

(6). That Bacon's common-place book or collection of phrases, proverbs, etc., the "Promus," first edited and published by Mrs. Pott in 1883, contains several phrases found in the plays, though usually with slight differences. This is interpreted to mean that these are the first rough drafts of the phrases of which the more polished versions appear in the plays.

(7). That a few contemporary writers allude to Bacon as a poet.

(8). That various people, distinguished in their respective walks in life, such as Prince Bismarck, Lord Palmerston, Mark Twain, are of opinion that Bacon, and not Shakespeare, wrote the plays.

I shall endeavour to refute each of these arguments in turn.

The usual argument is that Shakespeare's upbringing and career made it impossible for him to acquire the knowledge of the law, the court, of foreign countries and of the classics that is revealed in the plays. But at Stratford there was a grammar school (and grammar in that day meant the Latin grammar), where the headmaster received a larger

salary than that paid to the headmaster of Eton, and even the usher was required to be a graduate of Oxford. There is no direct evidence that Shakespeare studied there, but it would be surprising if he did not, for the school was free and his father was chief alderman of the town. The presumption is that he was educated there, and if so he must have been taught the classics; indeed there is at the Birthplace a long letter written in Latin, in 1598, at the age of eleven, by a pupil there who was a connection of Shakespeare's. Ben Jonson's statement that he had "small Latin and less Greek" is in fact a clear indication that he had some knowledge of both, though this may very likely have been small in comparison with Jonson's own extensive knowledge, which Churton Collins suggests may have been the source of the few instances of deep classical knowledge which he quotes. Moreover, genius can do much with scanty materials; few poems have a more purely Greek atmosphere than *Endymion*, yet Keats never learnt Greek, but derived his knowledge from Lemprière.

As regards law, Shakespeare brought several actions and had much to do with leases, and in this way he would acquire a good deal of legal knowledge, and the law terms in one of his plays are said to have been taken bodily out of one of his leases. We know so little of his first years in London that the theory that he worked for some time in a lawyer's office may be correct. We do know from contemporaries that he wrote a very clear and legible hand, which would be a recommendation for a post as copying clerk. On the other hand his knowledge of law is said on good authority to be fragmentary and irregular and quite unlike that of the greatest lawyer of his day.

With court life also he had a good deal to do, for he must often have attended "command performances" before both Elizabeth and James, and the power of mimicry he had as a practical actor would enable him to pick up such knowledge rapidly, while the Theatre was a favourite resort of

the Elizabethan gallants who were not above a kind of intimacy with the actors. Master Slender, who certainly aimed at being in the fashion, even boasts of his acquaintance with the bears in the bear-gardens!

But all this adverse criticism leaves out the consideration that he was a great genius, and genius has a royal road of its own to knowledge. Still, even genius has its limitations; it cannot acquire technical knowledge without actual contact and experience, and to my mind it is easier to account for a knowledge of the law in Shakespeare than a knowledge of practical stagecraft in Bacon; an acquaintance with a few masques is not nearly sufficient. There is, too, plenty of low life in the plays, and Bacon's knowledge of this would be slight.

The fact that Shakespeare often criticised the craze for foreign travel is frequently cited as evidence that he had never been abroad, but to my mind it points to the opposite conclusion. When a person gives an opinion about travel it is always assumed that he is speaking from experience, and without experience of it Shakespeare would probably have expressed no views on the question. His belittling of it only shows that he himself did not like it, and it is likely enough that he did not travel in great luxury. "When I was at home I was in a better place, but travellers must be content!" It has been said that he could not have belonged to one of the many touring companies that went from England to the Continent, because the actors joining them were mostly of little reputation, but Shakespeare, like other people, had to begin at the foot of the ladder, especially in technical matters, and in his early days would not be of sufficient skill to gain admission to a London company, while he had his reasons for wishing to be out of London.

This, I suggest, is what happened. Shakespeare stole or killed deer in Fulbroke Park, not Charlecote, because there were no deer there at that time. The tradition which makes Charlecote the scene of the exploit is largely based

upon the caricature of Sir Thomas Lucy as Justice Shallow, and the legend of the ballad fastened to his gates. Even Sir Sidney Lee goes so far as to suggest that though Charlecote itself had no deer, there may have been some belonging to Sir Thomas Lucy in a small warren near. A point, however, which seems to me decisive, and which I think is new, is that Sir Thomas is caricatured as a judge, and he could not have been both prosecutor and judge! The identification with Justice Shallow is undeniable, the coat-of-arms would reveal it to any Warwickshire man, it is only the ownership of the deer which is in dispute. In either case the result was that Stratford became too hot for him and he ran away, but as the Queen's writ ran in London as well, he would not be much safer there, so that when he heard that a company of actors were leaving for the Continent, he decided that with his natural bent towards the stage his salvation lay there and joined them. His name does not occur on any of their lists, it is true, but being under the ban of the law he would naturally assume another name.

He may have belonged to one of the English companies which are known to have played at Elsinore. Later, perhaps, the company went to Italy, choosing as a suitable district for a tour the cities of Northern Italy, rich, art-loving, and close together, but not venturing on the long journey to the more isolated towns on the peninsula. It is a fact that apart from the historical plays, all the Italian plays are situated in these northern towns, Venice, Verona, Milan, Mantua, and Padua, though it is true that there is little attempt at "local colour." Perhaps the most is in the Merchant of Venice, where some knowledge of the Exchange and of the ferry to the Padua Road is shown, while Gobbo is a genuine Venetian name. Another point in favour of the theory that Shakespeare had travelled is the power with which the character of Shylock is depicted. In many respects he is a typical Jew, despising the Gentiles, and even while he trades upon their weaknesses, bitterly resenting their treatment of the Chosen People to

whom he clings and whose Scriptures he quotes. The Jew of Malta is of no particular race. Shylock is a Jew—not one of the best of his race by any means—but characteristically Jewish in his ways, and yet this vivid personality is supposed to be the work of a man whose whole life was spent in a country where hardly a Jew had lived for two centuries !

I think we may fairly say that the arguments in favour of this Italian tour are more than mere conjectures, and are worthy of serious consideration.

Sir Edwin's assertion that Shakespeare not only lacked this extensive knowledge but was absolutely illiterate, is quite unfounded. He bases his opinion largely upon his disbelief in authenticity of the signatures, and this notwithstanding the fact that the will is attested by four witnesses and that the word "seal" has been erased and "hand" substituted. It should be remembered, however, that the evidence of handwriting experts is not infallible even in our own day, and the number of those who can decipher the crabbed Gothic writing of that day is very limited ; I doubt if there is any so expert that he can prove, without question, the genuineness or the reverse of a signature. Even if it could be proved that the signatures were written by other persons it would only prove that the seal was the important part, the name being inserted by the clerk as a mere record, as was not uncommon. The absence of the genuine signature is no proof of inability to write.

Similarly, Sir Edwin assumes that Judith Shakespeare could not write because against her name in the marriage register there is a cross. Now, the writing on that page of the register is all in one hand—probably that of the vicar. There are the names of some twenty couples but not a single signature among them, and only one cross, that against Judith's name. The fact is that when a hundred years or so after Shakespeare's death, visitors to the town showed an interest in the records of his family, a cross was placed in

the register against the names of his family, so that they were readily identified without the trouble of reading all down the page. Against the poet's own name, in the record of his baptism, there are no less than three crosses.

We must also point out the fact that Shakespeare's brother could write and write well, as is shown by his signature in the Birthplace, though, as he was two years younger, he must have received his education at a time when John Shakespeare was poorer ; this fact is ignored by Sir Edwin.

It is astonishing, however, that there should be any question as to Shakespeare himself, since we have indisputable evidence from men who knew him well of his ability. Hemyng and Condell, the editors of the First Folio, whose experience of the stage was gained partly in Shakespeare's company, and who both were so far acquainted with him that they received small legacies under his will, state that "what he thought he uttered with that easiness that we have scarce received from him a blot on his papers." They add that their object in the collection and publishing of the plays is partly "to keep the memory of so worthy a friend and fellow alive as was our Shakespeare." It is inconceivable that men so closely associated with the poet and his stage career should have been ignorant on such a point, or that within a few years of his death, they should have published gratuitously such a deliberate falsehood. Ben Jonson confirms their statement, too, when he says in his "Discoveries," "I remember the players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare that in his writing whatsoever he penned he never blotted (*i.e.* erased) a line."

It is as well to point out, too, that while the knowledge shown in the plays is often extensive and detailed, in many cases its source can be traced to a particular book or chronicle, and there are curious omissions or slips. It is remarkable, for instance, if the writer were really one of our first great scientists, as Bacon undoubtedly was, that no trace of

any interest in science appears in the plays; while such details as the use of guns in the time of King John, and the casual appearance of a boa-constrictor, a lion, and a palm tree in the Forest of Arden do not show that the writer was a slave to scientific truth.

Inaccuracies and discrepancies between the various editions are not surprising. The originals were the property of the theatre, and were carefully kept, but pirated editions were common, and as it was impossible to get a correct transcript by the only form of shorthand then known, they were full of mistakes. Apart from this, printers were often careless, and even in the Folios there are many phrases which are practically unintelligible as they stand, though commentators have suggested emendations which given them meaning. For instance, Mistress Quickly's famous description of Falstaff's deathbed runs, "his nose was as sharp as a Pen, and a Table of greene fields" in the First Folio, and is omitted entirely in the Quarto, the present version "and 'a babbled of green fields" is due to the suggestion of a commentator, Theobald. The additions are easily accounted for and need not trouble us.

Of the five plays in which the greatest alterations occur, the Merry Wives and Henry the Fifth were pirated by Thomas Crede, whose agent no doubt took down as best he could the words as spoken in the play; while King John, the Taming of the Shrew, and the Second Part of Henry the Sixth were old plays by other writers, at most revised by Shakespeare. Even the titles were not much altered. These were "The Troublesome Reign of King John," "The Taming of the Shrew," and "The Contention between York and Lancaster."

The one play which one would expect to find remodelled in the Folio if Bacon were its author is "Love's Labour Lost," in which the supposed cipher word, "Honorificabilitudinitatibus" occurs (Act V., scene 1). This word, according to the Baconians, is an anagram for "Hi ludi F. Baconis

nati tuiti orbi," or in English, "These plays, the offspring of Francis Bacon, are preserved for the world." It is also read as a number cipher by attaching a numeral value to each letter. Since so much has been made of it by the Baconians, the reader will naturally ask where in the works of Bacon it occurs. It is not found there at all, not even in the collection of stray phrases known as "Promus." It is not even original, for it is found in the twelfth century, and occurs in Dante. Oddly enough it is found also in Warwickshire, for it is written, as if in absence of mind, on the last page of the parish register of Pillerton, according to Mrs. Stopes, in a type of writing that is not found later than 1598, and is believed to have been written by William Palmer, who transcribed the old register upon parchment as required by an Elizabethan Act of Parliament.

As to the loss of the manuscripts there is nothing surprising about it. The same thing is true of the works of most of the other dramatists—Peele, Green, Marlow, Beaumont, Fletcher, Webster, Marston, and Ford—not one of whose plays remains in manuscript; all that we have is one play of Massinger's, one play of Heywood's, and a masque of Ben Jonson's. In France we find the same thing; Molière lived sixty years later than Shakespeare, yet none of his literary work survives. The only specimens of his handwriting known are a few isolated signatures and two formal receipts.

The point that Bacon concealed his authorship of the plays out of regard for his reputation as a lawyer and courtier might be of some value if he had concealed it effectively. It is remarkable, however, that the writings he did publish are entirely different both in style and in matter from the secret productions.

To Bacon's scientific writings I have already alluded. The Essays are models of terseness and show considerable insight into character, but there is little trace of any feeling for the beauty of language, and few ideals are revealed; they

are the work of a materialist rather than a poet. As to verse, there is a rumour that he once wrote a sonnet, but the only verses we have of his are a few paraphrases of the Psalms. Their quality may be judged from the following quotation from the 149th Psalm : —

“Let not your voice alone His praise forth tell,
But move withal and praise Him in the dance.
Cymbals and harps let them be tuned up well ;
'Tis He that doth the poor's estate advance.
Do not this only on the solemn days,
But on your secret beds your spirits raise.”

Are we to believe that the greatest poet our country has ever had deliberately refrained from publishing anything better than this at a time when verse - writing was the accomplishment of every gentleman !

Bacon's *Promus*, which was first printed by Mrs. Pott, is a kind of common-place book containing an immense number of phrases, sentences, and quotations. Many of these occur in Shakespeare's writings, and Sir Edwin's theory apparently is that these are the raw material which is given in the plays in the more polished form, finally adopted. Bacon certainly made little use of them in his writings, and I suggest that he intended them for use in his speeches, and indeed many of them are too colloquial or trivial for printing as they stand. Spedding says that much of it seems to have been written down from memory, as it contains so many inaccuracies ; this seems to show that the extracts were not copied from books as a rule, but were made from a recollection of a thing once heard, such as a speech or a play. As to their authorship, they include such phrases as :—*“Tantaene animis celestibus irae,” “Noli dicere rex Judaeorum,” “Sed dicens se regem Judaeorum,” “No man gathereth grapes of thorns or figges of thistles”*—curiously appropriate to the present subject—*“Pride will have a fall,”* and others to whose authorship Bacon could certainly lay

no claim. The whole book is disjointed, a mere collection of isolated words and phrases, often only a word or two, which, as they stand, convey no meaning to the modern reader. There is no trace of the rhythm and euphony which give a glamour to almost all the work of Shakespeare.

It is a contradiction to assert at one time, as Sir Edwin does, that Bacon so shrank from revealing the secret of the authorship that he selected an unknown actor to pass as the author in return for handsome payments (although he was hard pressed at the time, 1597, by a goldsmith named Sympson, who had lent him money, and in 1598 was arrested and thrown into a spunging-house for a debt of £300), while all the time his secret was known to most of the literary men of the day, who frequently alluded to it in their writings under a slight disguise. Further, in case this did not reveal his identity sufficiently, Bacon was bribing printers to insert or alter headlines, inscriptions, or illustrations, so as to intimate to the observant that a revelation was concealed. It is unnecessary to go into all the examples of this quoted. The most important are those in the "Great Assizes of Parnassus" and the "Return from Parnassus." The first was published in 1655, and is attributed to George Wither. It is a mock trial of the poets. Bacon is called the Chancellor of Parnassus, and with him are coupled Philip Sidney as High Constable, and other distinguished men such as Erasmus, Selden, Grote, and Casaubon; Ben Jonson is Keeper of the Trophonian Denne, and Spenser is Clerk of the Assizes.

The lower half of the title page is divided into two columns, headed respectively "The Jurors" and "The Malefactors." The jurors include Wither, Davenant, Drayton, Beaumont, Massinger, Fletcher, and Shakespeare. The malefactors are not identified, but are described as "Mercurius Civicus," the Intelligencer, the Scout, the Spye, and so on. Now Sir Edwin advances the extraordinary proposition that the jurors are the same as the malefactors.

Shakespeare comes about seventh in the first column, while the corresponding malefactor is the "writer of weekly accounts." Therefore, says he, Shakespeare was not a poet, he was only a bookkeeper, though this was surely an odd occupation for a man who could not write! A few of the jurors can be said to resemble their parallels, the malefactors, but most of them are quite unconnected. Massinger, for instance, would be the Scottish Dove, though he had nothing to do with Scotland.

In the trial one speaker says "Shakespeare's a mimic, not a poet," but his real status is made clear by the crier, who calls out "Sylvester, Sandes, Drayton, Beaumont, Massinger, Shakespeare, and Heywood, Poets Good and True!"

The "Return from Parnassus" is a play acted by Cambridge students in 1601, and contains the well-known complaint of the actors of the day that "With mouthing words that better wits have framed, they purchase lands and now esquires are made." This, however, cannot refer to Shakespeare, for in the first place it was not he but his father who applied for the grant of a coat-of-arms, and also he is definitely alluded to in the play as "Sweet Master Shakespeare." There does not appear to be any real reason for rejecting the view usually put forward that the words refer to Alleyn, who purchased the manor of Dulwich from the money he received as an actor, though he wrote nothing himself.

There are certainly a few contemporary remarks depreciating Shakespeare; even Ben Jonson yields to the temptation once; but most successful men meet with this sort of criticism, and an unmixed chorus of praise would be surprising. Few prophets are honoured in their countries and in their own day without any opposition.

The occasional tributes to Bacon as a poet are insignificant and I think may be fairly neglected, or at most ascribed to a desire on the part of the writer to stand well with the

great man, whose weakness may have been an admiration for his own poetry. If it were so, he would certainly not be the first or last great man to pride himself upon a gift he did not possess.

Further arguments are based upon the unlikeness of the various portraits of Shakespeare to one another, and to the Stratford bust; a good deal is made of the Droeshout portrait, the frontispiece to the First Folio edition, and it certainly has some peculiarities. Sir Edwin's strong point is the coat. It must be admitted that it appears to be made up of a left front and a left back, and he claims that anything left-handed belongs to Bacon—indeed, not an unfit indication of the baser half of his personality. The real explanation is a fashion of the time; the back of the coat was made up of two right halves with a "parti-patterned" effect which was, in a way, a modification and survival of the well-known parti-coloured costume. A portrait of the Earl of Essex shows the same style, as does Ben Jonson's monument in Westminster Abbey. The wrinkle behind the jaw, which is due to a fold of fat, he claims as an indication that the face is covered with a mask. As if Ben Jonson would have written the familiar lines in praise of the portrait and its original, knowing the former to be a mask!

Bad engraving has spoilt the picture as given in the Folio, and it could never have been a work of art; but there are better impressions, notably one which has gone to America. The best we have is in the Bodleian Library. This to my eye is full of charm. There is humour and a suggestion of large tolerance in the curve of the lips, there is the lambent fire of genius in the eyes, and in the domed forehead and the lateral broadening out of the head above the temples there is evidence of great mental capacity. Some say that there is no evidence of genius in it, but it is asking much of an engraver, if we expect him to give us a convincing proof of this. Physiognomy is a difficult study, too, and the amateur is often misled. Robert Bruce and

General Wolfe both had the retreating chin and forehead usually taken to represent stupidity, if not idiocy. The head of Bruce is almost exactly like that of the pre-historic Neanderthal man, while Wolfe, as everyone knows, was said to have been mad, a statement that drew from George the Second the remark that he wished he would bite some of the other generals.

The question of the authenticity of the Droeshout portrait touches me personally because, although the presentment of the poet in the Shakespeare-Spenser window at Southwark is taken from the Chandos portrait, I used my influence, ably seconded by that great authority, Mr. Spielmann, to have the figure in the memorial based upon the Droeshout portrait. Martin Droeshout, the engraver, was a young man at the time, and I agree with the view that has been advanced that it was his uncle and namesake who drew the original picture. This older Martin Droeshout was described as a painter of Brabant, but was married in London in 1602. I suggest that it was probably by his influence that so young and inexperienced an engraver was employed; it is hardly likely that the publishers and editors of the First Folio would have entrusted the work entirely to a man who was only 15 when the poet died, and at best could only have a dim recollection of its subject.

The bust is objected to by Sir Edwin because the face is unlike that shown by Dugdale in 1656, but the point is weakened because that shown by Rowe in 1709 resembles neither. Not much importance need be attached to these minor differences, however, for in 1748 Mr. John Ward devoted the profits of a representation of "Othello" to the repairing of the bust because the soft stone was decayed in parts. It would hardly be possible to patch the stone and retain an exact likeness, and it would not be an easy piece of work to carry out in any case. It is quite likely, therefore, that the present face, apart from the fact that it has been repainted several times, differs from the original one. The

architectural details also differ from those shown by Dugdale. The fact is that both Dugdale and Rowe made rough sketches with marginal notes and drew the finished picture afterwards; this accounts for the legs of the cherubs resting on the cornice in one case and dangling from it in the other. Incidentally the bust itself is a link between the Shakespeare of Stratford and the Shakespeare of Southwark, as it is the work of one Gerard Jansen, whose father was well-known in Southwark as a designer and sculptor of tombs and memorials, a business in which his son followed him.

The cushion on which the poet's hands rest certainly looks rather like a sack, and Sir Edwin declares that it is one, in fact the Woolsack itself, *i.e.*, another indication of the real writer of the play, but an examination shows that it must be a cushion, for it has a tassel at each of the four corners, while the knots of a sack would only be at two.

A further connection between the playwright and Stratford is the use of a number of local surnames; Bardolph, Fluellen, Ford, Peto, Sly, Page, Broome, are all found near, as are the places of Barton-on-the-Heath, Wincott, and Woncott. Christopher Sly says he has run up a score with Marian Hacket, the fat ale-wife of Wincot, hardly a person with whom Bacon was likely to be acquainted! But the parish of Quinton includes Wincot, and in 1591 a child named Hacket was baptised at Quinton Church. An even more remarkable case is that of Woodmancote, which is still locally pronounced as Woncote. In the Second Part of Henry the Fourth we find allusions to William Visor, of Woncot, and Clement Perkes, of the Hill; and in the sixteenth century there were actually living a Visor, of Woncot, and a Perkes, of Stinchcombe Hill, which adjoins Woncot!

We must also take into consideration in a claim of so sweeping a nature the general character of the man on whose behalf it is made, and here the evidence is by no means in favour of Bacon. His literary work we have already dealt

with. As to his character he is a typical example—one of the finest in our history—of a dual personality. Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde are hardly finer. On the one hand he was perhaps the wisest man of his age; none other had his breadth of outlook or his grasp of the key of knowledge. On the other hand he proved himself one of the meanest of men. His admirers have tried in vain to find the reason why a man of such ambition and ability, whose father held an important post at Court, should for the first half of his life never have succeeded in obtaining a position worthy of his powers. They have finally decided that it was owing to the persistent opposition of his uncle, Lord Burleigh, who was actuated by jealousy for his own son. I prefer to believe that the relentless opposition of his uncle to Bacon's otherwise just claims to preferment were based upon his knowledge of the moral obliquity of his character, not to any fear for the prospects of his own son. We must remember, too, that Elizabeth was a shrewd judge of men and prompt in acting upon her judgments, and had Bacon been a man in whom she had placed full trust she would have had her own way and promoted him, so that it seems probable that she too doubted his honesty of purpose. The highest honour he attained in her reign was that of Q.C., though it was not that he did not humble himself enough to gain her favour; he went even beyond the limits of self-respect, for when he had said something in Parliament which offended his imperious sovereign he hastened to grovel before her and promised in future to keep a stricter guard upon his tongue.

In later life, he spurred on the prosecution to drive to the block his ever staunch friend and benefactor, Essex, and not content with this, blackened his memory after his death. He held secret interviews with parties to actions in his court, received bribes from them without even showing enough of thieves' honour to give judgment in their favour, and abetted in putting a poor and aged clergyman to the torture of the rack, although torture had then fallen into disuse.

If such a man required another to pose as the author of some of his writings which he did not choose to publish as his own, he would certainly exercise all his skill and knowledge of human nature to find a man who would impose successfully upon the people he desired to impress. Such a man must be a writer of some reputation, so that his claims to authorship might not be obviously false; he must be a fair classical scholar to account for the classical allusions in the plays; he must be a ready writer in the literal meaning of the words; and he should be a resident in London, so as to be present at rehearsals when required; he must be sober in his habits and able to keep the secret entrusted to him; and lastly, and hardest, he must be so far dishonest as to connive at a fraud and yet so honest that he would never attempt to use his knowledge to blackmail the real author. The man to fill such a post would need all these qualities, and yet we are asked to believe that the man Bacon chose to fill the position was a drunken ignoramus, whose pretensions a single half-hour's conversation would expose. They ask too much of our credulity. Even were the ciphers and their meaning beyond all doubt, the utmost they would prove would be that Bacon *said* he was the author of the plays, and we would still have no reason to accept his statement as true.

In 1621, Bacon, after attaining an earldom and the highest position in the legal profession, was disgraced. He survived his fall five years, and as he had no further promotion to hope for at Court, might reasonably then have proclaimed himself as the author of the plays; it could have done him no harm and might even have done some good with a king who had shown his appreciation of them on several occasions. He did nothing of the kind, but devoted himself to his scientific pursuits. Though the last of the plays was written in 1611, there were too many friends of the real writer still living ten years after for a false claim to be successful. For my own part, I prefer to give Bacon

more credit than his own supporters do, and to believe that he made no such attempt because such a monstrous imposition never occurred to him.

As to the ciphers, they were dangerous playthings in those days. The cipher letters of Mary, Queen of Scots, were still fresh in men's minds, and both Elizabeth and James employed a fairly numerous "secret service" staff. If a man of Bacon's ability, after a fall from power such as his, were found bribing printers and others to introduce cipher messages into their work, in all probability he would speedily find himself in the Tower, and with a timid and suspicious king like James, would spend the rest of his life there.

The object with which this paper was written was to disprove the claims to the authorship of the plays, made on Bacon's behalf by Sir Edwin Durning - Lawrence, but incidentally a good deal of evidence of Shakespeare's authorship has been included. I will add that over forty existing contemporary documents mention Shakespeare's name, and that there are no less than a hundred and fifty contemporary allusions to him. For instance :

Ben Jonson should be absolutely impartial for he was a friend and admirer of both men. Of Shakespeare he says, "I loved the man and do honour his memory (on this side idolatry) as much as any;" and again, "He was indeed free, honest, and of an open and free nature, had an excellent phantasy and gentle expressions." "Shine forth thou star of poets," and "Which crowned him Poet first, and then Poet's King," and in addition the dedicatory lines to the frontispiece in the First Folio, which are generally attributed to Jonson, as much from the lines themselves as from their signature B.I.

If there were any deception as to the authorship, surely a fellow-actor would have discovered it. Yet besides the testimony of Hemynge and Condell already quoted, we have this from Richard Burbage :

“And Shakespeare, thou whose honey-flowing vein,
Pleasing the world, thy praises doth obtain.”

Heywood says “Mellifluous Shakespeare whose enchanting quill;” and Leonard Digges, “Be sure our Shakespeare thou canst never die, but crowned with laurel live eternally;” Francis Meres, Professor of Rhetoric at Oxford, says “As the soul of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweet wittie soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare.”

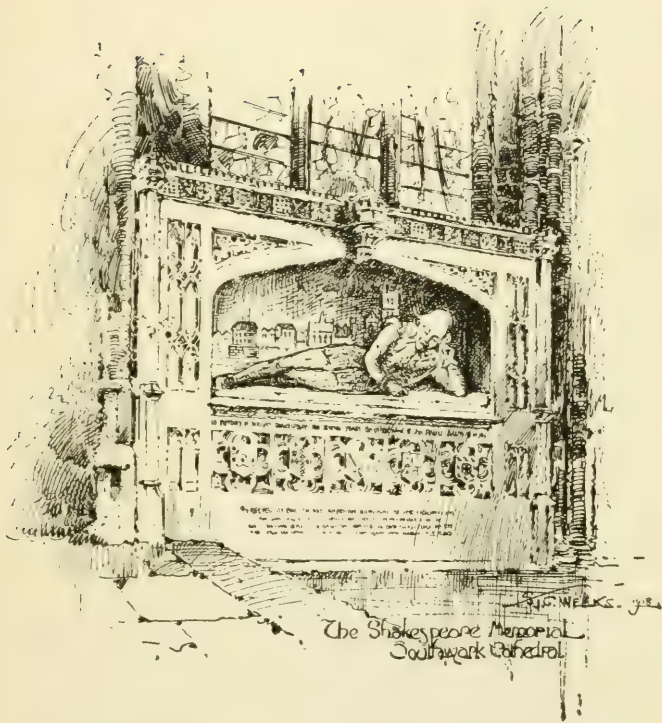
There are similar tributes to him in the works of men who lived a little later, but near enough to his own time to have known his contemporaries, if not himself. Milton, himself a Londoner, wrote the epitaph to the “Admirable Dramatic Poet, W. Shakespeare,” in 1632, where he refers to the monument he has raised for himself in his works, and says “Kings for such a tomb would wish to die.” Fuller (1608-1661) says “Many were the wit combats between him and Ben Jonson, which two I beheld like a great Spanish galleon and an English man-of-war. Master Jonson was built far higher in learning, solid but slow; Shakespeare, lesser in bulk but lighter in sailing, could turn with all tides and take advantage of all winds by the quickness of his wit and invention.”

Is it possible to believe that all these were deceived, that none of them detected an imposture, or that they were well aware of one and yet went out of their way to pay these tributes gratuitously to a fraudulent claimant to another’s honours, even though the real author connived at his fraud? I cannot believe either alternative, and I do not think anyone else who has examined the facts of the case can fail to be convinced of the identity of the playwright.

The conclusions of the supporters of Bacon seem to me best summarised in the quotation, which I may remind them, is also to be found in the “Promus.”

“Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.”

OLD SOUTHWARK
AND ITS
CONNECTION WITH SHAKESPEARE.



The Shakespeare Memorial
Southwark Cathedral

SOME NOTES ON OLD SOUTHWARK

AND ITS

CONNECTION WITH SHAKESPEARE.

A NEIGHBOURHOOD, like a building, is often so overshadowed by a neighbour larger than itself, that its own features of interest are neglected, if not actually forgotten, both by the student and by the sightseer. This is very much what has happened to Southwark. Southwark, which now aspires to be a city, owes its importance to London, and especially to London Bridge, but it has been for so long the fortress to the South, the "South work" or "Burgh" of the Bridge that for the last thousand years, at least, it has had a history of its own.

To many Londoners it is a rarely-visited land of railway stations and factories, closely packed among narrow streets of low dark houses, yet this work-a-day district was for many years the pleasure-ground of London and contained both the residence of our greatest poet and the theatre where his plays were produced, and though both these haunts have long since disappeared, it still contains his parish church, one of the oldest and finest churches in London. It is in the hope of making more widely known the interest of Southwark, and especially its connection with Shakespeare, that I have put together the few facts following.

In old times Southwark was a part of a large marsh, which, extending from a river front of some eight miles, was bounded on the east, south and west by the high ground of Greenwich, Forest Hill, Denmark Hill, Brixton, Clapham, and Lavender Hill. Except for a few islets, some of which may still be recognised by their terminations in "ey" or "ea," like Battersea or Bermondsey, the whole of this area was submerged at high tide. Clapham Common, however, must have been a large and firm island, for the ground slopes away from

it on all sides. For this reason it was of great military value, and it was here that in the second century of our era, the rebellious Roman pro-consul, Callectus, fell fighting an avenging army which pursued the fugitives to the foot of London Bridge.

There is reason to believe that Thorney, or Westminster, was inhabited before London proper. At all events at some remote period a causeway was constructed from Lambeth to the Dover Road, and merchants would take the ferry at what is still known as the "Horseferry" Road.

Much later, another causeway was made, which connected the first with London Bridge. Its name still survives in Newington Causeway. Finally the water was kept out of this region by embanking the river and hence the name "Bankside." Certain streams still meandered through the marsh, there was the Wall, which gave its name to Walworth, the Effra which ran down the Brixton Road (I can remember seeing the bridges approaching each of the houses) and fell into the Thames at Vauxhall, the Falcon whose position is marked by Falcon Road, Clapham Junction, and another which ran along the west of the Borough High Street and entered the river at St. Mary Overy Dock.

Southwark owes its importance to the bridge, for until the middle of the eighteenth century, when Westminster Bridge was built, the river was spanned by no other. The first London Bridge was built by the Romans in the second century. It was made of wood and was carried on tressles, being some sixteen feet wide and starting from near where Billingsgate Fish Market now stands. It must have required frequent renewals, but it lasted until what we know as Old London Bridge was finished in 1209. The general aspect of Old London Bridge is familiar to most of us. It crossed the river some forty feet east of the present structure, so that it was in a straight line with Gracechurch Street and the Monument, with the two churches, St. Magnus' and St. Olave's in the line of frontage. We are apt to think of it as

a very ancient structure which has long since disappeared, but this is not the case, for although the houses built upon it were removed in 1754, the bridge itself was pulled down barely a century ago. The arches were so numerous and so narrow that the current through it was very strong and I can remember my father telling me how he used to compete with other youths in trying (generally in vain), to row through it against the tide. There were a number of houses on the bridge, for sixty were burnt down on one occasion; in addition there was a Gothic chapel and a handsome building known as the Nonesuch, while at the southern end was a fortified gateway from which projected poles bearing the heads of traitors, as shown in the Shakespeare Memorial. Two drawbridges enabled comparatively large vessels to ascend the river. One of the alcoves can still be seen in the grounds of Guy's Hospital and one of its Gothic towers stands at Swanage.

Many a fight has taken place at the Southwark end—Romans, British, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, all fought there, and the rebels Tyler, Cade, and Faulconbridge met there the forces of the Crown. Many an army bound to France or returning thence passed over it, among others those of Richard Coeur-de-Lion, Edward the Third, the Black Prince, and Henry the Fifth, who crossed it as a victor on his return from Agincourt, and whose body later was brought back from France over it to a mourning city. A City pageant which met Richard the Second there, however, was so magnificent that he decided at once to increase the taxes!

The present bridge was opened in 1831, and its position west of the old one is responsible for the sunken effect of Southwark Cathedral. The statue of William the Fourth, who opened it, is said to mark the site of Falstaff's tavern, the Boar's Head, though some authorities say that the Eastcheap tavern was another, and the Boar's Head itself in Southwark.

Old Southwark was noted for its prisons, its inns, its monastic houses, and its palaces. Bermondsey Abbey was founded in 1182, by Aylwin, the father of the first Mayor of London, and was built on a low island near where the Tower Bridge now stands. Its great treasure, a cross or Holy Rood, which was found on the shore, attracted many pilgrims and two queens, Katherine of Valois, the widow of Henry the Fifth, and afterwards the wife of Owen Tudor and the ancestress of the Tudors, and Elizabeth Woodville, the widow of Edward the Fourth, lived and died there. The present Cathedral, St. Saviour's, takes its name from it, while St. Thomas's Hospital was originally an almonry of Bermondsey. The other great religious house was St. Mary Overy.

Of the palaces, the most important were Suffolk Palace and Winchester Palace. The former was built by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who married Henry the Seventh's daughter, Mary, the widow of old Louis the Twelfth. A magnificent place with many towers, it stood opposite St. George's Church, in the Borough, and is still commemorated in Old Suffolk Street. Winchester Palace was the residence of the Bishops of Winchester; a few stones built into the wall of a warehouse at the bottom of Stoney Street are all that remain of its chapel, but an old print I have shows it as an important edifice. The Palace was surrounded by a large park from which Park Street is named. Other great houses were those of the Abbot of Battle (hence Battle Bridge, near St. Olave's School), the Bishop of Rochester, the Earls of Surrey and of Sussex, Lord Montague, in what is still known as Montague Close, and a great house in what is now Tooley (St. Olave's) Street, belonging to Sir John Falstaff, whose name may thus have become familiar to Shakespeare.

Of inns, the most celebrated was that immortalized by Chaucer, "The Tabard." Like most of the historical buildings of Southwark, it was burnt down in a great fire which

took place ten years after the Fire of London. It was at the Tabard that pilgrims for Canterbury and abroad assembled before starting on their journeys. They did not hurry themselves much for it is on record that they sometimes took two months to get from London to Canterbury. The site is occupied by a modern tavern of the same name. Another historical inn was the "White Hart," which was the headquarters of Jack Cade, and is mentioned by Shakespeare in Henry the Sixth. Then there was the "Falcon," in what was once Falcon Dock, this was the great meeting place of the actors of Bankside; the others included the "Bear at Bridge Foot," which was visited several times by Pepys. It was here, he says, that the Duke of Richmond met the beautiful Frances Stewart and eloped with her, much to the displeasure of the King. He also gives the sad history of the mistress of the tavern, who "did lately fling herself into the Thames and drowned herself, which did trouble me the more, when they tell me it was she that did live at the White Horse Tavern in Lombard Street, which was a most beautiful woman, as most I have seen." His increased sympathy for the poor woman when he discovered her beauty is a characteristic touch. Another inn was the "Cardinal's Hat," near what is still known as Cardinal Cap Alley, where Taylor the Water poet entertained his friends, and the only remaining one is the "George" in the Borough. This is well worth a visit, for it still shows the galleries from which spectators witnessed the early plays, both before and after the building of theatres. In fact the Elizabethan theatre was evolved from an inn courtyard. In an inn the only possible form of stage was a platform and this was the stage of all the open-air theatres.

The prisons need not detain us long; the Marshalsea, commemorated by Marshalsea Street is the most interesting historically as Bishop Bonner, who is buried in St. George's Churchyard, was twice imprisoned there. A later prisoner was the father of Charles Dickens, who was detained

there for debt. No doubt from his recollections of this, Dickens drew the prison scenes of *David Copperfield* and *Little Dorrit*.

It is difficult for us to picture to ourselves Southwark as it was in Shakespeare's time. Stow in his survey of London, published in 1596, described it under the heading of Bridge Ward Without, and says that the buildings were extended from the foot of the bridge about a mile south, half a mile east and half a mile west; while the map of Norden in 1593 shows a single line of houses facing the river which then gave the place its chief beauty. In 1544 the secretary of the Spanish Ambassador wrote, "No more beautiful river can exist in the world with its innumerable boats, its many ships and its multitude of swans." It deserved indeed the name of "Silvery Thames" :—

"Though deep yet clear, though gentle yet not dull ;

Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full,"

as Denham wrote not long after. Watermen were there by the hundred, fishermen cast their nets there and the flash of the leaping salmon and the bright blue gleam of the kingfisher were familiar to the eye. One can imagine the poet, sitting by his study window, soothed by the hum of the water as it sped through the narrow arches of the bridge, gazing dreamily across the river. His thoughts are elsewhere and he is only dimly conscious of the noble nave and broken spire of Old St. Paul's and scarcely more so of the gloomy bastions of Baynard's Castle, the home of William Herbert, the first Earl of Pembroke to whom the first folio edition of the plays is dedicated.

Bankside at that time was the pleasure resort of London and every day some three or four thousand persons were brought to it by the watermen; indeed the traffic was so great that when in 1613 theatres on the north bank of the river became popular, the watermen petitioned the King against them on the grounds that their trade was seriously injured by the change. Besides the three theatres, other

attractions were a Maypole, bear-baiting, bull-baiting, and pike-fishing. The bearwarden was appointed by the Crown and Henslowe and Alleyn at one time held the office jointly. Bear-baiting was very popular and distinguished visitors were usually taken to see it, among others the King of Wurtemberg and the King of Denmark, who was brother-in-law of James the First. The bears were even known to the people by name; as Master Slender boasts:—"I have seen Sackerson loose twenty times and have taken him by the chain!" The pastime lasted till 1655, when it was put down by the Puritans, who, Macauley says, disapproved of it, not so much because it gave pain to the bears as because it gave pleasure to the spectators, and the seven bears were shot. A thoroughfare called Bear Gardens still exists.

The first theatre on Bankside was called the Rose; it was built by Henslowe who also had a school for actors and what we should now call a dramatic agency there. Shakespeare acted at the Rose in 1592 and it was the scene of his early dramatic successes. The Swan theatre followed in 1595; by great good fortune, a drawing of its interior made by a Dutchman, Jan de Wit, in 1596, was discovered in the library at Utrecht not many years ago. The Hope theatre had its origin in a bear garden, not at Bankside, but at Paris Garden, which derives its name not from a shortening of Paradise as is sometimes said, but from the name of an early proprietor, Robert de Paris.

The "Glory of the Bank" as Ben Jonson termed the Globe Theatre was erected in 1599. It is not uncommon now for a tenant who has had a dispute with his landlord to secure his furniture from seizure by carrying it off; the brothers Richard and Cuthbert Burbage did better, for they carried off what was known as the Theatre bodily and erected the Globe largely from the materials. It opened with Ben Jonson's "Every Man in His Humour," in which it is believed that Shakespeare took the part of Old Kno'well. It stood a little way back from the river between the present Southwark

Bridge and Cannon Street Railway Bridge, and owing to the energy of Dr. Martin, a handsome tablet on the wall marks its position.

The first building, the "Wooden O" of Henry the Fifth, was circular and held twelve hundred persons. The octagonal building often shown as the theatre of Shakespeare was the second, built after the destruction by fire of the first. On one side was a turret from which waved a flag when a performance was going on,—an idea copied in recent times by our legislators. The centre was open to the sky, for the roof, which was of thatch, only partly covered it. The stage was a platform and at the back of it between two columns was a two-storied building containing dressing rooms, etc., while the upper part served for Juliet's balcony, the ramparts of Elsinore, or any similar scene. Mr. Ernest Law, the custodian of Hampton Court, has shown that the gallery at the end of the Great Hall there was used in the same way when plays were performed, while the players were allowed the use of the rooms above and behind as dressing-rooms. As to scenery, moveable backgrounds were little used and one way of managing without them was to paint the background in three panels, one as a wood, one as a room, and the third as a street, with appropriate fittings, furniture, rocks, trees, and so forth, in front of each panel. The performers then placed themselves in front of the proper scene. On the other hand the costumes were so magnificent that in Germany, which English touring companies often visited at that time, it was a common saying that a man who was elaborately dressed looked like an English actor. The hangings were usually of black for a tragedy and blue for a comedy. The prices ranged from a half-a-crown for the best seats to a penny for those who stood round the stage, the "groundlings." Hamlet had a poor opinion of their critical powers, but at the present day many of the best critics are often found in the pit. Smoking was allowed, for Hentzius who witnessed a performance there in 1592, mentioned that the men present

smoked long clay pipes and drank ale. The ale had more uses than one, for when the theatre was burnt down in 1613, owing to a real (not a property) cannon setting the thatch alight at a performance of Henry the Eighth, the only person who ran any risk of injury was a man whose small-clothes caught fire and were extinguished by a neighbour who with great presence of mind emptied his pot of ale over them.

All these bear-gardens, prisons, theatres and palaces have disappeared ; but one building superior in beauty to any of them happily remains, Shakespeare's parish church.

This noble building which ranks second only to Westminster Abbey among the mediæval churches of London, was founded as a College for Priests ten years before Alfred became King, by one of the best known saints in the calendar, St. Swithin, Bishop of Rochester, and in 1106, Augustinian canons were established there under a prior. The present building dates chiefly from 1207, though fragments of the earlier structure remain. Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, and a son of John of Gaunt, built the south transept and his arms may still be seen in the church. The legend that the building was founded by a ferryman's daughter may probably be dismissed as the invention of an amateur philologist to explain the word "Overy" which according to Stow and some others meant "over the water." A more probable derivation, however, is from "over" meaning a bank, which is allied to the German "ufer," while "cy" as already stated means an island. St. Mary Overie, as the church was known up to the time of the Reformation simply means therefore that it was built on a small island off the bank. In 1540, when the change of name was made, there abutted on it, on the south side, a chapel, that of St. Mary Magdelene, and about half way down the Borough High Street there was a church, St. Margaret's. These three were amalgamated under the name of St. Saviour's and later the two minor churches were pulled down. In 1905 St. Saviour's became Southwark Cathedral, and now the

parish is united with an adjoining one and has become St. Saviour cum St. Peter.

The associations of the building are both historical and romantic. Here in 1423 the royal prisoner, James the First of Scotland, was married to Lady Joan Beaufort, the niece of the cardinal, at whose palace they kept their wedding feast. As everyone knows, he fell in love with her as he watched her from his window at Windsor walking in the garden, and describes her in the King's Quhair as :

“The fairest and freshest younge flower
That e'er I saw, methought before that hour.”

Little did the wedding guests anticipate the night of tragedy when the gallant Katherine Douglas tried in vain to keep out the assassins by thrusting her arm through the staples of the door !

Henry the Fourth was present when the Earl of Kent, grandson of the Fair Maid of Kent, was married to Lucia, daughter of the Lord of Milan (what a Shakespearean title !), and gave away the bride. Another marriage was that of the Earl of Cumberland, at which Queen Elizabeth was present. Queen Anne visited the church several times, as she much admired the sermons of the celebrated Dr. Sacheverell, who was chaplain there for some years.

The Lady Chapel is of interest historically as well as architecturally, as it was the scene of the trial of many of the Anglican martyrs, including Bradford and Hooper, by Bishops Bonner and Gardiner.

I cannot enter into a description of the architecture of the church, but must confine myself to a brief statement of its connection with the actors and poets of the district and particularly with Shakespeare. Among those buried here is Gower, whose beautiful five-hundred-year tomb is one of the most interesting features of the cathedral. The three books under the head of his effigy represent his three principal works, in one of which he describes Chaucer, who was ten years younger, as his “disciple.” After Gower, the greatest

of those buried here are Fletcher and Massinger, who lived on Bankside, close to Shakespeare, as did Beaumont. All three, like Shakespeare, are commemorated by stained-glass windows.

The registers and token books of the church show how close was its association with the actors, its parishioners. Edmund Shakespeare, the poet's brother, was buried there in 1607 "with a forenoon knell of the great bell," and in the following year, Lawrence Fletcher, a well-known actor and a member of Shakespeare's company, was laid to rest there.

In the First Folio edition there is a list of the "names of the principal actors in these plays;" they number 26, and nearly half of them attended the church. Augustin Phillips, who bequeathed Shakespeare a legacy of remembrance, had three children baptised there; Goffe, Cooke, and probably Pope were buried there; Joseph Taylor was married and had six children baptised there; Ecclestone was married there; while Rice, Lowin Kemp, and Sly were parishioners and communicants, as probably was Hemynge, since he left the rector a legacy. Finally, Nathan Field distinguished himself by a vigorous protest against another rector's animadversion against actors. Richard Burbage must also have had some connection with the church, as there is a note of the date of his death in one of the books.

As to Shakespeare himself, his position as part proprietor of the Globe, or in other words carrying on business in the parish, legally constituted him a parishioner of St. Saviour's, so that even if he had not been a resident, he would have had associations with the church. But it is quite certain that he was a resident, for in 1596 a demand for £2, as his share of a subsidy, was sent to his address at Bishopsgate. He had left and the collector was referred to the Sheriff of Sussex (Sussex and Surrey being at that time under one jurisdiction). But the Sheriff of Sussex found that the matter was not within his province and wrote on the margin of the paper, "Epis. Wintonensi," meaning

that the debtor was living under the rule of the Bishop of Winchester, *i.e.*, in the Clink, where his writ would not be valid. Shakespeare was finally duly served and later paid two instalments. This evidence was discovered in 1904, by Professor Hales, in the Elizabethan Pipe Rolls, in the Record Office. It confirms in a striking manner the statement of Malone, that he had seen among the papers of Edward Alleyn, a note that in 1596 Shakespeare was living near the Bear Garden in Bankside. He may be presumed to have lived with his brother Edmund, so he may have continued living there till Edmund's death in 1607; possibly even up to his final departure from London in 1611.

We are all much indebted to Professor Wallace for his researches, but he tries to prove too much when he infers from the fact that Shakespeare was called as a witness in a lawsuit, that he lived for many years in Cripplegate. The servant giving evidence in the Mountjoy case said that on a certain occasion Shakespeare "lay in the house," a term which would hardly be applied to a permanent resident. Later he is described as a "sojourner;" now "sojourn" is derived from the French *jour*, and meant one who stayed from day to day, a sense in which Shakespeare himself always used it—as in *King Lear*, "Till the expiration of your month, you will return and sojourn with my sister;" while in the Bible, Abraham dwelt in Canaan, but in Egypt, where his stay was short, he sojourned. These expressions, combined with Shakespeare's misty recollection of a subject which must have been frequently and acrimoniously discussed by the Mountjoy family for years, seem to show that he had not been long in residence there.

So much for Shakespeare's residence in the parish; now, as to his attendance at the parish church. His writings clearly show a man of deep and sincere religious feeling, though without bigotry; they also show an extensive knowledge of the Bible. Bishop Wordsworth found in them references to every book in it, and we might deduce from

these two circumstances alone that he was a regular church-goer. Besides this, however, churchgoing in Elizabethan days was no matter of likes and dislikes. An Act passed in 1581 made it compulsory to attend church, and absence for a month continuously involved a fine of £20, or about £150 in our money. The Act, too, was by no means a dead letter, and was brought to Shakespeare's knowledge even while he was at a Bankside theatre by the fact that his own father was charged before the Stratford Magistrates in 1592 for not coming to church, and escaped a fine only because he pleaded he went not "for fear of processe of debt." We may conclude then that both from inclination and from obedience to the law, he did attend church. We can even tell in what part of the church he worshipped, for the pews on the north side of the nave were reserved for the inhabitants of the Clink!

He was probably present when his brother Edmund was buried, and possibly when the poet Dyer was buried there in the same year. Perhaps his familiarity with the tomb of Gower suggested to him the play of "Pericles," where the plot is the same as that of Gower's "Confessio Amantis," and the chorus is spoken by Gower.

It seemed that very little attention had been paid to these facts; however, I placed them before Dr. Talbot, then Bishop of Southwark, now of Winchester, and it was urged that the Cathedral Chapter should take some steps to commemorate the connection of the poet with their cathedral by a memorial service, and if possible by the erection of a permanent memorial, in addition to the stained-glass window which was already there. In June, 1908, I published an article in the *Westminster Review*, setting out the facts stated above and asking for support for such a service and memorial, and suggesting an outline. Dr. Talbot admitted that the intimate connection of Shakespeare with Southwark Cathedral was proved, and with the sanction of the Chapter,

it was agreed that a Shakespeare Service should be held periodically.

The service was held on April 23rd, 1909, and was as far as possible commemorative of the poet. Much of the music was of such a date that Shakespeare himself might have heard it; the anthem was "Let us now praise famous men," and special hymns were written by Mr. A. C. Benson and Canon Rawnsley respectively. The Poet Laureate, Mr. Alfred Austin, wrote and recited an Ode to Shakespeare, Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson gave a magnificent address, and Miss Ellen Terry, Mrs. Kendal, and Lady Forbes-Robertson decked the church with the flowers of Ophelia and Perdita. The choir sang a beautiful setting of the lines:

"There's not a single orb which thou beholdest,
But in his motion like an angel sings.

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But while this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grossly close us in, we cannot hear it."

Lines which have always seemed to me a paraphrase or a poetical version of St. Paul's, "For now we see through a glass darkly but then face to face." The service closed with Sullivan's "In Memoriam."

As the Chapter decided that the service should be triennial, a second one was given in 1912, when Sir Frank Benson took the place of Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson, and a third in the tercentenary year, 1916, though owing to the war this was sadly curtailed.

It was arranged that the offertory on each occasion should go towards a fund for the erection of a Memorial to Shakespeare in the Cathedral, and other donations were invited, but money was slow in coming in, until the generosity of an American gentleman, Mr. Sanford Saltus, of New York, provided so substantial a sum as to allow the memorial to be put in hand at once. Mr. Saltus contributed later the balance of the sum required, so that it is largely to him that we are indebted for this beautiful piece of work.

Both the design of the memorial and its position were carefully considered; it is placed under the stained-glass window erected in 1897, which shows in the centre the Muse of Poetry, and on either side, Shakespeare and Spenser, while on general lines it is a pendant to the tomb of Gower, on the opposite side of the nave in a similar recess, but since it is not a tomb but a memorial, the figure shown is that of the living man. It shows a semi-recumbent figure of the poet carved in alabaster, under a Gothic screen and canopy with a background in bas-relief of Southwark, as it was in his time. Among the buildings shown are the Globe Theatre, the Clink, St. Mary Magdalene's Chapel, the Bishop of Winchester's palace, and the gateway of Old London Bridge. At the base are five shields on which are the arms of the poet himself, the Cathedral, the Bishop, the Rector, and the author of this paper. The inscription is "Erected by English and American admirers of the poet whose works and glory are their common heritage." The work was carried out by Mr. Henry McCarthy, the sculptor of the memorial to Cardinal Vaughan, in Westminster Cathedral, and it was unveiled by Sir Sidney Lee on November 4th, 1912.

Some of the Chapter suggested that the memorial should take the form of a replica of the Stratford bust, but it was submitted that a mere replica was unworthy alike of the cathedral and of its close connection with the poet, and undoubtedly the result justified the choice. May it remain a real and permanent addition to the beauty and historic interest of the cathedral.

Stratford claims with pride that it is the birthplace of Shakespeare, the home of his early life and of his late years; but London, and especially Southwark, is the home of his manhood, where nearly all his greatest works were written and produced. In Stratford he may have met his clowns, his gravediggers, and his rude mechanicals, his Justice Shallow, and his Dogberry; but in London he met his

poets, his courtiers, his swashbucklers, and his wits, to say nothing of his women. Hamlet and Mercutio, Falstaff and Mark Antony, Beatrice and Portia, were no citizens of Stratford. Had he lived out his life there he might never have brought his genius to its full development. He owes much, admittedly, to Stratford, but it is to London that he owes the most.

JOHN HALL, PHYSICIAN

(SHAKESPEARE'S SON-IN-LAW).

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JOHN HALL, PHYSICIAN

(SHAKESPEARE'S SON-IN-LAW).

WE know so little of Shakespeare's family circle from themselves, that few people are aware that in the British Museum there is a book by his son-in-law in the original MS. It does not contain any allusion to the poet, yet anything that has a bearing on his life has an interest for us, and thus I think it worth while to devote this short paper to the book and its writer—a subject which has, in fact, not been so fully dealt with as it might have been, for although John Hall's life has been studied by Halliwell Phillips, Gray, Lee, Rolfe, Elton, and others, and at greater length by the ever-industrious Mrs. Stopes, none of these writers had the advantage of a medical training, without which it is impossible to treat adequately his career and the book he has left us—a record of his cases.

Shakespeare had three children. The eldest was a daughter named Susanna; the twins, Hamnet and Judith, were nearly two years younger. Hamnet died in 1596 at the age of eleven; but both the daughters grew up and married. Judith married Thomas Quiney, a son of her father's old friend, the former High Bailiff of Stratford, and they had three sons, but the eldest, who was called Shakespeare after his grandfather, died in infancy, and the two others in early manhood, so that their branch of the family soon became extinct. The elder daughter, Susanna, married John Hall, the subject of this brief memoir.

Hall was born in 1575, but nothing is known of his family and birthplace. Halliwell Phillips suggests that he may have been born at Acton, Middlesex, as he left his daughter a house and meadow there, but as he also left his widow a house in London that argument does not seem to carry much weight. A more important one is that though Acton was at that time a small village, sparsely populated,

there were some Halls living there. In fact, there is in the register of the parish, a record of the marriage of John Hall and Margaret Archer, in 1574, a year before Hall's birth, and a year later of the birth of a child to the pair; but as this was a girl they can hardly have been his parents, though they may possibly be of the same family. Later there was a rector of Acton named William Hall, but as his father was a vintner of Lichfield, he can hardly have had any connection with the Acton family. Another suggestion was that he was the son of Dr. John Hall, of Maidstone, a well-known physician, who translated Lanfranc's *Chirurgerie*, but he died nine years before his namesake was born.

The surname, of course, is a common one, and may represent either the abbreviation Hal for Henry, or a man who lived in or was connected with the great house of the neighbourhood: it is therefore difficult to trace. Had we known his mother's maiden name, or had any information about the male members of his family in his will, we might have been more successful.*

I, myself, think that he was probably a Warwickshire man. For one thing it is unlikely that a young doctor from a distance would select a place like Stratford to practise in, though a young man with connections in the neighbourhood might very likely do so. Another point in favour of this theory is that James Cooke, the translator of the casebook, says in his explanation of the way in which it came into his possession that he was introduced to Mrs. Hall by a "kinsman of her late husband," who was at that time a surgeon's mate in the Parliamentary army. If the kinsman then was a Warwickshire man, as seems probable, Hall may have been one too.

Hall was well educated and is said by Cooke to have been a good French scholar and to have travelled in France, but if so, he does not seem to have studied there, for there

* The arms on his monument are "Sable, three talbots' heads erased, or" but these are common to a great many branches of the Hall family.

are no French phrases in the case-book, though Rivierius (Riviere) of Paris is quoted once in it; so is Thonius, who was Dean of Ulm, and the manner of the quotation suggests that it is rather from a book than from a personal knowledge of the facts of the cases.

The first record of him in Stratford is in 1607, when he took a house in Stratford Old Town, about two hundred yards from New Place. It is still standing and is known as Hall's Croft, while the present tenant has done much to restore to it the appearance it must have had in Hall's time.

In June, 1607, he married Susanna Shakespeare; she was then twenty-four and he thirty-two, or only eleven years younger than his father-in-law. New Place, though purchased by Shakespeare ten years earlier, was then occupied by his self-styled "cousin," Thomas Green, the Town Clerk of Stratford, and it was not until 1609 that Shakespeare went to live there. It has been suggested that on his visits to the town during this period he may have lived with the Halls, but there does not seem much foundation for the idea, as his wife and daughter were living in the town, and his visits there would most likely have been spent with them.

In the register John Hall is designated "Gentleman," but he describes himself as "M.A., Physician." Cooke also gives him the title of "Physician," though Cooke himself is described as a "Practitioner," which apparently indicated that he had no licence to practise. However, where Hall obtained his licence is a problem which I have been unable to solve. His name is certainly not on the roll of Oxford or Cambridge, and I have personally ascertained that it is not on those of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, St. Andrew's, or Leyden, either for Arts or Medicine. I have also applied for information to the registers of Paris, Montpellier, Padua, and Bologna, but owing to the war, the archives are not available for inspection. The suggestion that he practised by virtue of a degree may moreover be excluded on the ground that he never put forward any claim to have one. No

foreign university could give him a licence to practise without his having received a degree, and he must have therefore been an English licentiate; but he is not on the roll of the College of Physicians, the Barber Surgeons, the Apothecaries' Company, or even its parent, the Grocers' Company.

The Archbishop of Canterbury could grant a licence to practise within his province, and such a licence was the qualification of the Rev. John Ward, the Vicar of Stratford from 1662 to 1681, but here again I have searched the roll, which is well kept, and his name does not appear (the Archbishop's power to license, by the way, remained in force until 1858—a curious survival). An ordinary bishop had power to grant a licence to practise, but this was only valid in that diocese. John Hall practised in the Diocese of Worcester, and as he had apparently no degree and no other licence, there can be little doubt that he was licensed by the Bishop of Worcester; this view is supported by the fact that the Bishop was a patient of his and was cured by him after other physicians had failed; he was “long tormented with a scorbutic, falsely imagined by his physicians to be a true gout;” the cure presented some difficulties, as the disease was of long standing and the Bishop aged 86. A local antiquary, the Rev. James Davenport, was kind enough to search the register for me, but unfortunately this records benefices only, so that Hall's name does not appear. Notwithstanding this, we may fairly consider that it was from the Bishop of Worcester that Hall derived his licence to practise medicine, while his M.A. degree came no doubt from the same source. Some writers have questioned his having a licence at all, but against this we must put Cooke's description of him as a physician, which from another doctor, and one living in the same county, must surely have been based on a knowledge of his position. It is possible, however, that in his early years Hall practised by right of apprenticeship only.

In 1608, the year in which Shakespeare's mother died,

Hall's only child, Elizabeth, was born. She subsequently married Thomas Nash, a student of Lincoln's Inn, who lived next door to New Place. He died in 1647, and two years later, a month before her mother's death, she married John (afterwards Sir John) Barnard, of Abington, near Northampton, where her father may have made his acquaintance, as he had patients there. The marriage may have been hastened by the fact that her first husband's will caused a good deal of difficulty, as he had disposed in it of property belonging to her and her mother, over which he had no control, though they had some little trouble in getting this legally established. Lady Barnard died at Abington in 1670, but for many years there was no inscription recording her name on her tomb, until recently an ardent Shakespearean had one placed there. It now runs :

"Also to Elizabeth, second wife of Sir John Barnard, Knight (Shakespeare's granddaughter and last of the direct descendants of the poet), who departed this life on the 17th February, MDCLXIX. Aged 64 years. *Mors est janua vitae.*"

She had no children by either marriage, so that with her the direct line of descent from the poet came to an end.

On his death in 1616, Shakespeare left the bulk of his property to Mrs. Hall, making her husband co-executor and residuary legatee, in which capacity he proved the will in June, 1616. Shortly afterwards the Halls moved to New Place, where the poet's widow continued to reside with them until her death in 1623, the year of the publication of the First Folio edition of his works.

Hall by this time was a fairly important person in the town. He was three times elected to the Town Council, but his attendance was so irregular, perhaps owing to his profession, that in 1633 he was fined for continued absence ; while later he was expelled for breach of orders and "continual disturbance at the meetings." He was a great friend of the vicar, the Rev. Thomas Wilson, a thorough

going Puritan like himself, and so oblivious of the respect due to a sacred building, that he was suspended in 1638 for allowing "his poultry to roost and his hogs to lodge in the Guild Chapel." Hall was borough warden in 1628 and and vicar's warden in 1633, and presented the church with a costly hexagonal pulpit which continued in use till 1792. Though he had sold the tithes, the possession of which constituted Shakespeare's right to burial in the chancel, he himself was buried there, as were his wife and son-in-law.

He died at New Place on November 35th, 1635, aged 60. The cause of his death is unknown, but something must have prevented him from writing, as he made only a nuncupative, *i.e.*, a dictated will. This may, I think, have been unilateral paralysis, due to apoplexy, of which a second attack had a fatal result. He is described in the register as "*medicus peritissimus*," and on his memorial tablet as "*medica celeberrimus arte*," and though too much importance must not be attached to superlatives in these cases, he was widely known and esteemed for his skill.

Mrs. Hall continued to reside at New Place, and survived her husband until 1649, when she died at the age of 66. Her epitaph begins :

"Witty above her sexe, but that's not all,
Wise to Salvation was good Mistress Hall ;
Something of Shakespeare was in that, but this
Wholy of Him with whom she's now in blisse."

This certainly seems to suggest that Shakespeare, though "wittie," was not "wise to Salvation," but this is more likely an example of verbal infelicity than a deliberate suggestion, powerful as the Puritan party were at the time.

Her position in the town was respected by all, and in 1643 brought her the rather inconvenient honour of being hostess to Queen Henrietta Maria for three days, when she was on her way to join the King at Kinton, with some thousands of men, to make their way to Oxford.

John Hall left his property to his widow and daughter,

but to Thomas Nash, his son-in-law, he left his "studie of bookes." "As for my manuscripts, I would have given them to Mr. Boles if he had been here, but forasmuch as he is not here, you may, Son Nash, burn them or do with them as you please."

Mrs. Stopes suggests that the Mr. Boles was probably the Rev. Richard Boles, Rector of Whitmarsh, near Stratford, or alternatively, a Mr. Boles who lived opposite New Place, in the house that is now the Falcon Inn. It may be so, but there would not be much object in giving either of them a medical manuscript, and I think it much more likely that a doctor of that name was meant. This Dr. Boles is quoted by Cooke eight times in the casebook, and must have practised in the neighbourhood, because his patients included Lord Brooke and the Throgmortons and other persons with local names. It was probably he who was called into consultation with another doctor when Hall was seriously ill two years before.

The possibility that Hall's manuscripts may have included some of Shakespeare's plays has always been a question of interest to Shakespeareans; it is possible that there might have been some unpublished fragments, but it is not likely that the MSS. of any of the plays we have would be among them. The plays might perhaps have been at New Place when Shakespeare died, but when their publication was decided upon in 1623, they must have passed into the hands of the editors, Hemynge and Condell. What became of them can only be conjectured, but it is almost certain that they were kept by the printers in view of future editions being required. Nowadays the printer returns to the author with each instalment of the proof the corresponding portion of the manuscript; but it is probable that then, one of the editors walked round to Jaggard's, in Barbican, and corrected the proofs there; while if the manuscripts remained with Jaggard and his successors, and survived until 1666, they would have been destroyed in the Great Fire. The so-called

“mystery” of their disappearance is in truth no mystery at all.

Now as to Hall's book. James Cooke, the translator, was himself a doctor practising at Warwick. He belonged to the Barber-Surgeons' Company, and in 1668 received the licence of the College of Physicians; in 1648 he published a book of his own, “The Marrow of Chirurgerie.” He must have had a good practice, for he attended three of the Lords Brooke, of Warwick Castle, the first being the one who succeeded in 1632. Such a position would take some time to reach, and we may fairly suppose that he had been at Warwick for some years before Hall's death in 1635, and as Hall often went to Warwick, they might have met. Cooke does not make any mention of a meeting, however, though he says that he is familiar with Hall's handwriting and with his concise methods of expression. They may have corresponded, but it seems more likely that Cooke's acquaintance with his writing was obtained by the study of his prescriptions, as he says that he was on friendly terms with his apothecary.

Cooke became a surgeon in the Parliamentary army at the outbreak of the Civil War, and this led to his acquiring the casebook.

“In 1642,” he writes, “being in my art attendant to parts of some regiments to keep the pass at the bridge of Stratford-on-Avon, there being with me a mate, allyed to the gentleman that wrote the following observations in Latin, he invited me to the house of Mrs. Hall, wife to the deceased, to see the books left by Dr. Hall. After viewing of them she told me she had some books left by one that professed Physic with her husband for some money. I told her, if I liked them, I would give the money again. She brought them forth, amongst which was this with another of the author's intended for the press. I, being acquainted with Mr. Hall's hand, told her that one or two was her husband's. She denied, I affirmed, till I perceived she began to be offended.

At last I returned her the money." (The money presumably for which they had been left in pledge with Hall).

It will be noticed that there were two books by Hall, and it has been suggested that the second may have contained the notes of Shakespeare's last illness; but this is improbable, for if it had been a medical book Cooke would most likely have said so, since his interest seems to have been in Hall's work, rather than in his family affairs. Moreover, Hall does not seem to have appreciated the genius of his wife's father at its worth or at any approach to it, so that he would hardly have made any detailed record of his case unless it presented features of peculiar interest to medicine. From Hall's well-known leanings to Puritanism, I think it may have been a work of a religious nature, perhaps unpublished on account of the prejudices of the licensing authorities of the day. In any case, the writer, by his casual permission to "Son Nash," to burn them or do as he pleased, does not seem to have set a high value upon his work.

On examining the work Cooke thought it worthy of publication, but sent it first to an able physician in London for his opinion. "He returned answer that it might be useful, but the Latin was so abbreviated, or false, that it would require the like pains to write a new one." Cooke considered that a new one would not embody the ripe experience of Hall, of whom he had a high opinion, and attempted the translation himself, "Having some spare hours, I put it into this garb, being somewhat acquainted with the author's conciseness, especially in the receipts, having had some intimacy with his apothecary." It was not until 1657 that the English version appeared; twenty-two years after there was issued a second edition, and a third with Cooke's portrait was published in 1683, after his death. The publication of three editions at considerable intervals seems to show that the work was valued by contemporary medical men.

Cooke's title-page is "Select Observations on English Bodies or Cures both Empiricall and Historicall, performed upon very Eminent Persons in Desperate Diseases. First written in Latine by Mr. John Hall, Physician, living at Stratford-on-Avon, in Warwickshire, where he was very famous, as also in the Counties adjacent, as appears by these observations drawn out of severall hundreds of his as choycest. Now put into English for common benefit by James Cooke, Practitioner in Physick and Chirurgerie. Printed for John Shirley at the Golden Pelican, in Little Britain, 1657."

The emphasis upon "English" is rather misleading, but in the Latin original there is no phrase; it is inserted by Cooke, who seems to have been attached to it, as in the second part of the book, which is entirely his, he finishes the title with "and all upon English bodies." It is not even accurate, as a few foreign cases are quoted. In fact the whole title is carelessly expressed, as many of the persons are not eminent, nor are the diseases always desperate. The expression "choycest" is explained by Cooke's conjecture that 180 were selected by Hall from about a thousand as "fittest for public view."

To get rid of Cooke's contribution at once I may say that it consists of a hundred and twenty "Counsels," of which only eight are by Cooke himself, while no less than forty-eight are from the practice of Dr. Willis, the discoverer of Diabetes. Cooke is much given to quoting at length from well-known authors, while Hall only casually alludes to four foreign physicians; he does, however, make a longer mention of Harvey, who treated a patient of his successfully on a relapse taking place in London.

Hall's original manuscript does not appear to have been consulted by his biographers. It is fortunately in the possession of the nation and can be seen in the British Museum, where it is numbered 2065 of the Egerton Collection. It is a small 12mo. volume of about 200 pages, closely written in Latin on both sides of the paper, and contains the notes of

180 cases. They are not arranged in any sort of order, either alphabetical, chronological, or according to type, and only twenty-one are dated, the years extending from 1617 to 1635. So much of each case is taken up by prescriptions as to suggest that these were obtained from the apothecary by Hall in the last year of his life and the other notes filled in from a diary, for the handwriting, which is in the Italian style, has the appearance of having been written continuously, not jotted down from time to time. The syntax is often English and the Latin is so excessively abbreviated and crowded as to be sometimes unintelligible. P. Ch., for instance, stands for something which Cooke translated as emetic emulsion, and one of the first cases I tackled was headed "Feb. 3," this I took to be a date, but I soon discovered that it stood for *Febris Tertiana* or Tertian Fever.

Inside the cover is the signature of James Cooke, and written in Hall's hand, the motto "*Qui sine via et methodo Medicinam facit est sine clavo et remis navigat.*" (He who practises medicine without a definite course and method is like one who navigates without a rudder or oars). There is no separate title page).

Hall's own title is "*Curationum Historicarum et Empiricarum in Certis Locis et Notis Personis, libellus.*" The expression "Book of Cures" is noteworthy, and Mrs. Stopes suggests that Shakespeare's last illness is not included because he died; there are, however, three fatal results recorded, and no date so early as 1616 is given. The phrases "*Certis Locis*" and "*Notis Personis*" seem to be coupled together rather as a guarantee of good faith, as offering an inquirer the means of verifying the facts cited, than an emphasis of the social importance of his patients, since they include a number of domestics as well as of the humbler inhabitants of Stratford.

The maxim "*Sanitas a Domino*" (Health is from the Lord) precedes the first case, which is that of the Countess of Northampton, other patients are the Earl of Northamp-

ton, his son Lord Compton, the Countess of Salisbury's eldest son as an infant, the Bishop of Worcester, and many baronets and knights, including the Rainsfords, of Clifford Chambers, with whom Michael Drayton stayed some months every year. Lord Brooke, the Lucys, and the Cloptons are not mentioned. Many of the Stratford patients have names familiar to us, such as Coombe, Greene, Sadler, Sturley, Nash, Underhill (from whose family Shakespeare bought New Place), Quiney, and Hall's own wife and daughter). Mr. Quiney is described as "of a good wit, expert in tongues, and very learned," this was George Quiney, the son of Richard and brother-in-law of Judith Shakespeare. He was born in 1600, entered Balliol, graduated B.A. in 1620, and became assistant Master of Stratford School and "reading minister" or curate at Holy Trinity; it was probably he, and not, as is usually suggested, Hall, who wrote Shakespeare's Latin epitaph. Of names known to literature, there is the son of Mr. Holyoake, "qui dictionarium doctissimum composuit," or as Cooke puts it, "which framed the dictionary," and a much more interesting one, Michael Drayton, who suffering from ague, was cured by syrup of violets and an emetic emulsion. Drayton is here described as "an excellent poet," and it has been inferred from this that Hall appreciated good poetry, but unfortunately the epithet is Cooke's. The Latin MS. says simply "Magister Drayton, Poeta Laureatus." Few now believe that Drayton was ever awarded this honour, and possibly the change means that Cooke declined to endorse Hall's description; the expression at that date, however, meant a laurelled *i.e.* and eminent poet. Even then there is a difference between the two phrases. An "excellent" poet is the personal opinion of the writer, but an "eminent" poet is a mere record of the general opinion. Shakespeare himself is not referred to in any way, and the patients do not include either a Bardolph or a Fluellen, though both were genuine Stratford names.

Seven of the patients are expressly described as Roman

Catholics, one a priest, which is remarkable considering that Hall was such a strong Puritan, but confirms the statement made by John Bird, Linacre Lecturer at St. John's College, Cambridge, in the foreword which he wrote to the translation :—

“This learned author lived in our time and in the County of Warwick, where he practised Physick many years, and in great fame for his skill far and near. Those who seemed highly to esteem him, and whom, by God's blessing, he wrought these cures upon, you shall find to be among others, persons noble, rich, and learned. And this I take to be a great sign of his ability that such who spare not for cost, and they who have more than ordinary understanding, nay, such as hated him for his religion, often made use of him.”

Hall's practice ranged over an extensive area. Two of his patients lived at Worcester, 26 miles away ; three at Gloucester, 39 miles off ; two at Northampton, 42 miles off ; and no less than nine at Ludlow, 60 miles away. It is true that a system of posting was in use at that time, but it is unlikely that it was available for cross-country journeys, and no doubt he travelled on horseback, indeed, he says in his account of his own illness, that he was “daily constrained to go to severall places to Patients by riding.” We must infer that he was called in as a consultant, as he could not possibly have afforded the time to attend in person, if required as a regular medical attendant. In some cases he may have given advice by letter, but he expressly mentions that he was present in three cases at the greatest distance in Ludlow, while he is careful to explain in two other cases that he was not able to go himself “from multitude of busynesse,” but sent directions for remedies to be applied.

So many aids to Diagnosis were unavailable in that day that one is not surprised to find this a weak spot. Many of the cases have the principal symptom for a heading in place of a proper Diagnosis ; for instance, Appetite Lost, Beating

of the Heart, Burning Feaver, Grievous Cough, Headache, Jaundice, etc., a failing which, to tell the truth, is not quite unknown at the present day. Sometimes he misses a rather obvious diagnosis; thus the disease diagnosed as asthma and treated by inhalations, being characterised by a great cough and grievous pain in the side was more likely Pleurisy. In the majority of cases the data he gives are quite inadequate for forming a diagnosis, and not even the pulse rate is given, but on the other hand he puts in little details which are more interesting than helpful, rather after the manner of Pepys. Thus we learn that the Countess of Northampton is very fair and beautiful; that her sister, Maria Talbot, is chaste and modest; that Lady Rainsford is beautiful and of a gallant structure of body; while Lady Jenkinson is fair, pious, and chaste. No doubt if Hall had been responsible for publishing the book himself, he would have suppressed these personal details before printing.

Paracelsus, who died some thirty years before Hall was born, was for a time Professor of Medicine at the University of Basle. He was a drunkard, a braggart, and a profligate, but he was a man of genius and Medicine, and through Medicine, the world, is deeply in his debt.

Hall's treatment shows that he had not properly assimilated the teaching of Paracelsus of the value of metals and salts, for his armamentarium is almost exclusively herbal. In this respect he is not up to the standard of the London Pharmacopœia of 1618, which contains 43 metals and 6 salts. Even iron is used quite inadequately; it was generally given either as smith's forge water, that in which the red-hot horseshoes had been cooled, which could not contain much of the metal, or as "Our Chalybeate Water," which is made by stewing herbs in a new iron spoon and probably contained less. Nor did Hall profit by the warning given by Paracelsus against multiplicity of drugs or ingredients, as will be seen later.

Hall falls further beneath the standard of the Pharma-

copœia in his adherence to the filthy remedies of the Middle Ages. "To the head was applyed a Hen new cut thorow," or in his own case, "Then was a Pidgeon cut open alive and applyed to my feet to draw down the vapors," while his patients swallowed unprotestingly revolting mixtures, "spawn frog water," "snaile water of my preparation," "swallow nests, straw, dirt, and dung," and even worse ones. Still he has some consideration for the patient, for in one case he directs a disgusting concoction to be sweetened to the patient's taste. Comparatively pleasant were powdered earthworms or white wine in which nine fresh earthworms had been crushed and stewed. Indeed, a patient who had been ordered this last was deeply grateful, and said Hall had been a father to him ! It is difficult to believe that sneezing powders would be of any use to epilepsy, but they were stock remedies, the idea being that the evil spirit responsible for the disease could thus be expelled. The word, by the way, is spelt "neezing," as is also the case in the first folio edition of "*A Midsummer Night's Dream*,"—compare the German "niesen," to sneeze. Powdered man's skull, again, is a curious remedy for epilepsy, but it is only fair to say that it was prescribed fifty years later by Dr. Willis, for Charles the Second, in his last illness.

Bleeding was not employed to great excess, about ten ounces being the limit; while alcohol was rarely ordered except in the form of sack (saccharated or sugared wine). Emetics or cathartics were however given unmercifully; it is possible that with these, as with bleeding, the swing of the pendulum has carried us too far; after all, when the blood is charged with toxins it is not bad practice to replace some of it with saline from the tissues, nor is it unreasonable to make war upon intestinal stasis. A claim has been made for Hall that he was the first to use antiscorbutic remedies, but this cannot be sustained. His favourite remedy, scurvygrass, a species of *cochlearia*, allied to horse radish or spoonwort, was, according to Pliny (as quoted by Gerard, in his *Herball*

of 1597), learnt by the Romans from the Frisians in the Rhine campaign, which would be about 42 A.D. Hall's receipt for the antiscorbutic beer upon which he prided himself is : Scurvy Grass, M4, Water Cress and Brooklime, of each M2, Juniper Berries, M1, Wormwood, $M\frac{1}{2}$, boiled in a sufficient quantity of new beer to form four gallons. "M" has a learned look, but it only means a handful, Manipulus. What Cooke claims for Hall, however, is that he led the way in mixing antiscorbutics with other remedies, this might be good or bad, and perhaps he did, but he mixed a number of other things too. In fact, one of the most striking features of his prescriptions is the number of drugs employed. Lady Jenkinson took one containing 29, and during the course of a short illness took 64 ! The doctor's wife took one with 36, Captain Bassett one with 48, while another patient, whom it took 39 drugs to cure, then "bade farewell to physic," and no wonder ! The great objection to these shot-gun prescriptions is that it is impossible to say to which ingredient the cure is due, and consequently scientific medicine is not advanced, while one drug often neutralizes another.

In his liking for drastic remedies he did not spare his own family ; for when his daughter was ill in 1642, with facial paralysis, she was ordered fifteen strong pills "of the bigness of peas." Later, she had what he terms an Erratick Feaver, which looks more like Influenza, "sometimes she was hot and by and by sweating, again cold, all in the space of half an hour," she was given 23 drugs, "and thus," he says, "was she delivered from death. To God be praise !" Many other cases end with a pious reflection, and to the account of his own illness he prefixed a long and eloquent thanksgiving, beginning "Tu, Domine, qui vitæ et mortis habes potestatem." There is no doubt that his religion was very dear to him.

Hall is perhaps not to be blamed for his failure to see the importance of Harvey's discovery ; yet he had the chance, and if he had been a man of great ability, would

have seized it. Harvey's great work, "*De Motu Cordis*," was published in 1628, or seven years before Hall's death; and the second Lumleian Lecture, which first announced his discovery, was delivered as far back as 1616. Still, few physicians were any better in this respect. In any case, his failure to realise the circulation of the blood is evident both in his treatment and in his diagnosis. Thus in cases of fever, apparently with a view to reduce the frequency of the pulse, applications of split figs were made to the radial artery at the wrist!

Astrology had few attractions for him, his only reference to it being the occasional direction to give medicine at the New and Full Moon, and even Boerhave, who died in 1738, did this.

Hall must have been a man of impressive personality, and his close association with Shakespeare raises the interesting question of whether the plays written after the marriage, in 1607, display any greater appreciation of Medicine than those written before that date. Sir St. Clair Thomson referred briefly to this point in the admirable address on "*Shakespeare and Medicine*," that he gave to the Medical Society, and instanced, quoting Griffiths, *King Lear*, but this play was written and produced in 1606. The fallacy that one can deduce the opinion of an author from the remarks of his characters remains a fallacy, but certain contrasts may be noted. Thus, in "*Romeo and Juliet*," the apothecary sells a poison knowing that it is to be used for homicide; while in "*Cymbeline*," the doctor, being suspicious, substitutes a harmless narcotic for the poison he is asked for on the pretext that it is to be used for an animal. Again, while in "*Macbeth*" physic is consigned to the dogs by the impatient king, in "*Cymbeline*" (1610) the king says, "But I consider that by medicine life may be prolonged." Not all of "*Pericles*" was written by Shakespeare, but the critics agree that the Third Act was entirely his work. It was

written in 1608, and in Scene 2 we have Ceremon, who like Celsus was a nobleman, saying:—

“’Tis known I ever
Have Studied Physic, through which secret art
I have made familiar
To me and to my aid, the blest infusions
That dwell in vegetives, in metals, stones,
And I can speak of the disturbances that Nature
Works, and of her cures; which doth give me
A more content in course of true delight
Than to be thirsty after tottering honour,”

This is a tribute of which the profession may be proud. It is curious to note that in the mention of metals and of stones as therapeutic agents, Shakespeare was in advance of his son-in-law, but Brutus’ phrase, “As dear to me as are the ruddy drops that visit my sad heart,” though to us it may sound like it, cannot be taken as a reference to Harvey’s discovery of the circulation of the blood, since the play was written in 1600, and Harvey’s discovery was only made public a week before the poet’s death.

On the whole, however, the physicians in the plays are men of education and occupy honourable positions, whether in “All’s Well that Ends Well,” “King Lear,” “Macbeth,” or “Cymbeline,” or in the allusions to their profession in other plays, though the only reference to a surgeon in “Twelfth Night,” is of a less complimentary kind. We cannot say that Shakespeare’s view of physicians was seriously influenced by Hall.

Indeed, if Shakespeare was impressed by Hall, it is to be feared that Hall was quite unimpressed by Shakespeare. It is probable that their temperaments were not sympathetic, though Shakespeare’s breadth of mind would have prevented a quarrel. Hall was a strict Puritan, and the Puritans had always been the bane of Shakespeare’s life, as they were of all actors and playgoers, though they had not come into power at this time. Still their doctrines

could never have been congenial to the poet, and he knew well that if they had had their way, playwrights and actors would alike have been banned, and he himself would never have seen his works performed, but have been compelled either to have forced himself into courses less congenial, or have known his genius sterile. Sir Andrew Aguecheek is not conspicuous for wisdom, but when, on hearing that Malvolio is sometimes a kind of Puritan, he says, "Oh, if I thought that, I'd beat him like a dog!" he probably voiced a sentiment not unpopular in theatrical circles of the day. Even the town whose proudest boast now is that it gave birth to the poet himself, passed by its Puritanical Council in his own time (1612) a resolution that plays were unlawful and multiplied the penalty for infraction twentyfold! Perhaps this partly accounts for the poet's backwardness in co-operating with the Town Council in the matter of the Welcombe inclosures some four years later.

In confirmation of the suggested lack of affection between Hall and his father-in-law, may be noted the fact that, notwithstanding the large number of complimentary legacies in the will, nothing is left to Hall. A well-known writer suggests that as Hall was made co-executor with Mrs. Hall, the two men must have been on friendly terms, but in any case business reasons would have made this desirable.

I am afraid I cannot join in the eulogy that has been bestowed so universally upon Hall. I find it impossible to forgive him for his silence respecting Shakespeare. He had unique opportunities. His wife could not fail to have told him of her early recollections, and much came under his own observation. He had at least a year's acquaintance with Shakespeare's mother; he lived under the same roof with Shakespeare's widow; knew his brother Gilbert, the Quineys, the Harts, and the Greenes, and was trustee for a Hathaway. The poet himself, Hall knew for nine years at least, and for three or more he lived within a stone's throw of him. And what does he tell us of him? Not a word, not a syllable!

If only he had been a Boswell what a biography we should have had. He had an opportunity such as has scarcely been accorded to any other man and he never even saw it! For, even if the suggestion that the second manuscript of Hall's was a memoir of Shakespeare (and this is purely a conjecture), Hall valued it so little that he did not care whether it were burnt or not.

Instead of a biography he has given us a casebook. It contains a good deal that is of interest to us, but it may be doubted whether it was of much service to his profession, in spite of the popularity evinced by its three editions, the last of which was published fifty years after his death. It did nothing to advance scientific medicine and did much to perpetuate deplorable mediæval methods. To say, as some Shakespearean writers have done, that Hall was the first physician of his day, is to make far too high a claim for him, even if Harvey is forgotten. Apart from Harvey's genius, medicine was certainly at a low ebb, but if Hall shines, it is as a glow-worm on a dark night, "*Entre les aveugles, un borgne est roi!*"

Nevertheless, though we cannot claim for Hall a high intellectual capacity, we must not overlook his merits. He was a man of great energy and of strong religious convictions and he did his utmost for his patients. In addition, he was, I think, gifted with that rare and inspiring quality, a magnetic personality, and it was to this that much of his success was probably due. Confident of himself, he communicated that confidence to others, and so his patients recovered and his reputation spread.

His career has a double interest; to the student of medicine, particularly of the History of Medicine, it throws a light upon the methods and remedies of the Elizabethan

Physician; to the lover of Shakespeare it adds a little, though only very little, to our knowledge of the poet's life and family circle. From either point of view a short time spent upon the study of his life and work cannot be considered as wasted.

Note, Page 62 *. — I am aware that the inscription in the copy of Ovid's "Metamorphoses," supposed to have been Shakespeare's, states that it was given to "T.N." by "W. Hall," who said that it was once Will. Shakespeare's; but even if the inscription is correct we have no further knowledge of the W. Hall referred to, so that he does not throw any light upon the family of John Hall, and as the inscription is held on good authority to be a forgery, the existence of both "T.N." and "W. Hall" is very doubtful.

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Leftwich, Ralph Winnington
Shakespeare's handwriting

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